HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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October 7, 1967

35¢

Taxpayers Being Bilked

Courageous Congressmen Needed to Block Spending

"The Constitution places on the Congress the entire responsibility for managing the fiscal affairs of the United States government. Today we confront a massive federal deficit. Inflation is rampant. In the face of crisis, the Congress is impotent.

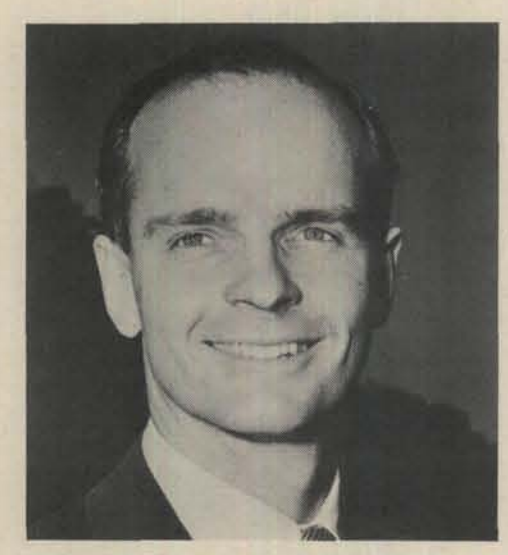
"Who creates the deficit? Congress! Who creates the inflation? Congress! Congress has the obligation to establish fiscal discipline but is refusing to do so. It has in practice surrendered its control of fiscal affairs to the federal bureaucracy and is now capable only of bleating."

We couldn't agree more with these pungent observations of columnist Thomas A. Lane. And it is high time that the public woke up to the cold fact that not only the President, but a supine group of legislators—mostly senators, mainly Democrats, but many Republicans—are engaging in the Capitol's favorite sport these days of "soak the taxpayer." These "statesmen" don't seem to care a rap about ramming through brand-new domestic spending programs or jacking up the price of old ones in the midst of a war and fiscal chaos.

Oh, we grant that many of these same lawmakers are now putting on grim public faces about the spendthrift policies of LBJ. And many are wringing their hands over the problem of inflation and shaking the rafters denouncing the Administration for trying to impose a 10 per cent surcharge tax.

But where were these pious protectors of the public purse when the chips were down and the legislation was up for a vote?

Who has it been in recent years who has passed or approved billions of dollars worth of domestic, non-defense spending? Who has been willing to spend and spend in the face of a $70-billion defense budget, spiraling costs for Viet Nam and a predicted $29-billion deficit for next year? Congress, of course.



Sen. William Proxmire (D.-Wis.) is typical of those who claim to push for economy in government but turn around and vote for those programs which cause inflation.

Even while LBJ's popularity has been plummeting, mind you, our faithful "watchdogs of the Treasury" have been sticking us, the taxpayers, with his wild and reckless spending programs. We'd like to enumerate just a small list of recent measures the taxpayer can tip his hat to Congress for:

• The Senate has passed a $10.5-billion appropriation bill for fiscal '68 for independent federal offices and agencies and the Department of Housing and Urban Development. This hefty money measure, according to Sen. John Williams, ranking Republican on the Finance Committee, amounts to more than $3 *billion* over what these same agencies received in 1967. As part of this piece of legislation, the senators restored the entire Administration request (killed by the House) of $40 million for rent supplements, a sparkling plan that guarantees landlords profits for as long as 40 years.

• The senators also approved in this appropriation no less than $537 million—that's half-a-billion dollars—for LBJ's model cities (nee demonstration cities) program. (The House endorsed a "niggling" $267 million for the model cities plan, and now the two houses of Congress will settle on a "compromise" figure.) Under this fantastic scheme, the federal government promises to rebuild areas in different cities throughout the country and pay close to 100 per cent of the cost.

Administration officials, of course, figure that whatever sum is finally appropriated will be only "seed" money, for they know that most of their well-trained seals in Congress will be only too happy to cough up additional billions when the Administration comes back for more.

• As if the above wasn't enough to reveal the total irresponsibility of the senators, they passed the participation sales measure, a device which would permit the Administration to conceal over $3 billion in spending without this figure ever showing up in the budget deficit.

But Sen. John Williams (R.-Del.) stands out on Capitol Hill as a staunch defender of the overburdened taxpayer.

Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen (R.-Ill.) so far refuses to try to shelve the Administration's "poverty war" boondoggles.

• There is also the campaign subsidy bill that the Senate Finance Committee has approved. Tabbed the "Honest Election Law of 1967," this gimmick would have the taxpayers chipping into each major candidate for President about $14 million and each senatorial candidate between $100,000 and $1.5 million.. There's also a tax deductible feature. According to Sen. Frank Lausche (D.-Ohio), this little bundle will cost the taxpayers "approximately $100 million in every presidential election."

Sen. Williams of Delaware asserted: " . . . at a time when the nation is confronted with a deficit running in excess of $2 billion a month, at a time when all taxpayers are to be asked to tighten their belts and perhaps pay an extra 10 per cent surtax . . . , it is certainly the height of irresponsibility to consider such a proposal. I do not think that members of the Congress would have the gall to go home and tell the taxpayers they are going to have to shoulder the cost of their campaigns for re-election." But apparently

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● Aides to **Hubert Humphrey** were recently shocked when the vice president suddenly folded his arms across his forehead, lay his head down on the desk and burst into tears. "We're being torn apart in Viet Nam and in our own cities," Humphrey tearfully stated. "And we don't know what to do."

● An influential voice of liberalism, the **New Republic**, has urged Democrats to deny LBJ the nomination in 1968 in a front-page editorial. "We don't know whether Lyndon Johnson can be denied it or not. We do know the attempt must be made, not because his renomination will handicap his party (it will) but because it may mean his re-election, and in view of his gross miscalculation in Viet Nam, that must be prevented."

● The Civil Service Commission is giving instructions to federal departments and agencies that they are to hire individuals who are **"riot potentials."** These include, according to El Paso Times correspondent Sarah McClendon, "beatniks, homosexuals, alcoholics. . . ."

● More than 300 intellectuals—ranging from Nobel Prize-winning scientist Linus Pauling to best-selling authoress Susan Sontag—are raising funds for draft dodgers and other foes of the Viet Nam war. Their appeal, entitled, **"A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority,"** is now circulating in the liberal community. The statement calls on "all men of good authority to join us in this confrontation with immoral authority." Signers include anthropologist Ashley Montague, Yale University Chaplain William Sloane Coffin, baby doctor Benjamin Spock, "beat" poet Allen Ginsburg, and Edgar Snow, the old China hand.

● Common consensus on Capitol Hill is that Sen. **Thruston Morton**'s (R.-Ky.) remarks about de-escalating the war in Viet Nam spring more from politics than statesmanship. Up for re-election next year, Morton has been trying to stake out a position in foreign policy that will help him keep in the good graces of liberals who are not always pleased with Morton's domestic positions. He also wants to win some applause in the influential Louisville Courier-Journal. All this year the former GOP national chairman has decided to play the role of peacenik, previously having endorsed expanded trade with Communist nations.

● The Senate Internal Security subcommittee is expected to have a report out on the **Otto Otepka case** and State Department security by the close of the session.

● Retired Lt. Gen. **James M. Gavin**, who is toying with the idea of running for the presidency, says he is "going to do everything in my power as an American citizen to defeat Johnson" in 1968. The "peacenik" general made this claim in Washington last week after spending part of his time with two Viet Nam critics, Senators Mark Hatfield (R.-Ore.) and Charles Percy (R.-Ill.). A New York industrialist, said Gavin, has offered to provide him a "five-figure" campaign fund should Gavin decide to enter the New Hampshire primary.

● The ultra-liberal Americans for Democratic Action were chided last week by one of their own, influential sociologist **Daniel P. Moynihan**. "Liberals must somehow overcome the curious condescension which takes the form of sticking up for and explaining away anything, however outrageous, which Negroes, individually or collectively, might do, he said. At another point in his speech to ADA's national board, Moynihan said, "Liberals must divest themselves of the notion that the nation, especially the cities of the nation, can be run from agencies in Washington."

● Sen. Peter Dominick (R.-Colo.) is sharply critical of Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark for asserting that **Stokely Carmichael** has broken no laws with his calls for the violent overthrow of the U.S. government. Dominick, a lawyer, says that Carmichael has violated at least two sections of the U.S. Code and should be prosecuted upon his return to the country. Carmichael, who has visited Cuba and North Viet Nam in recent months, is now believed to be somewhere in Africa.

● Atty. Gen. **Ramsey Clark** has been soundly condemned by his own agents for outlawing the use of "bugs" and other electronic devices in the war on crime. Clark maintains that the tools are of no aid, but the Association of Federal Investigators completely disagrees. The group, representing more than 1,000 federal probers, said it was "appalled" at Clark's recent order clamping stiff controls on electronic surveillance by government agents.

● Vice Chairman of Americans for Democratic Action **Joseph L. Rauh** has called on LBJ to fire Dean Rusk by replacing him with a Viet Nam "dove." Those suggested by Rauh for Rusk's replacement: ADA Chairman John Kenneth Galbraith, Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield and presidential prospect retired Lt. Gen. James M. Gavin.

● Former Ambassador to Viet Nam **Henry Cabot Lodge** is denying it, but Pittsburgh Press reporter Lawrence Walsh said last week he sticks by his story that Lodge told the World Affairs Council that there should be a removal of ground restrictions in Viet Nam so American forces there could cross the demilitarized zone into North Viet Nam to pursue the enemy. Those who know Lodge say that if he didn't say it, he means it.

● Insiders report that Baltimore's "Republican" Mayor **Theodore McKeldin** is slated for a posh Administration post when his term ends December 5. The ultra-liberal McKeldin, who publicly supported LBJ in 1964, did not run for re-election as mayor, frankly admitting that he had no chance for victory.

● The $27,500-a-year Clerk of the House, former Virginia Rep. **W. Pat Jennings** is considering a political comeback. A liberal Democrat, Jennings was defeated when he sought re-election last year from the state's 9th Congressional District. Apparently convinced that he would have trouble winning back his old seat, now held by Republican William C. Wampler, Jennings is contemplating a race against the 8th District's GOP Rep. William Scott. But political observers believe he would be unlikely to win there, either.

● Convicted of perjury in 1950 for having denied espionage activities on behalf of the Soviet Union, former State Department official **Alger Hiss** told a New York Post reporter last week that he has "no feeling of dereliction in the past." He happily noted that the "temper and climate of the times is steadily becoming less hysterical and sensational."

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Labor Bosses Threatened

Union bosses haven't let out a public peep yet, but they're known to be highly concerned about a controversial lawsuit which could permanently outlaw compulsory unionism and compulsory union dues in every state in the nation. Should this be the end result, the bosses recognize they would be dealt a massive blow.

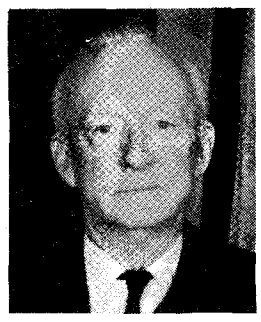
Union treasuries, now filled to the brim with compulsory dues from workers, would be considerably thinned down; labor chieftains, furthermore, would have to pay less attention to politics and more attention to the welfare of the workers in order to attract voluntary membership. Aware of the lawsuit's implications, congressmen, always sensitive to union power, are keeping a keen eye on the suit's developments.

Initiated by 24 employes of the McDonnell Douglas Corp. in Los Angeles, Calif., the case has been filed in the U.S. District Court for the Southern District of California with the aim of compelling the Supreme Court to declare compulsory unionism as unconstitutional.

The plaintiffs charge that the International Association of Machinists and the McDonnell Douglas Corp. have entered into an illegal contract which permits the IAM to force corporation employes to join the IAM within 30 days or pay "agency fees"—a euphemism for union dues—or find another job elsewhere. The 24 employes have neither quit nor joined the union, but are paying the "fees."

Complain the lawyers for the plaintiffs: "The aforesaid compulsory agency fee payments . . . are used in substantial amounts by defendant IAM to propagate political and economic doctrines, concepts, ideologies, and legislative programs which are opposed by plaintiffs. . . .

"The exaction of compulsory agency fee payments . . . and the use of such payments . . . imposes upon them political and ideological conformity, prevents them from exercising their rights and privileges as citizens of the United States, deprives them of their civil rights guaranteed to them under statutes of the United States, injures them in their person and property, and abridges rights guaranteed to them under the 1st, 5th and 9th Amendments to the United States Constitution, which amendments guarantee to individuals freedom of association, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of political action, freedom to pursue the occupations of their choice, freedom from unwarranted invasion of their privacy, and other fundamental personal rights and liberties."



BLACK

This case could have far-flung consequences. The Supreme Court has never ruled on the constitutionality of compulsory unionism—indeed, it has evaded such a ruling—but the trend of the High Court's decisions on individual liberty, coupled with the way this case has been drawn, lead experts to believe that the constitutional aspects of forced contributions to unions will finally be answered.

In the now famous *Street* case emanating from Georgia, the Supreme Court accepted the fact that union dues of certain railway workers had been used for political purposes. But in a series of five split decisions, the court refused to rule on the constitutional questions presented and concluded only that the use of union dues money for these purposes was contrary to the intent of Congress in passing the Railway Labor Act. The court held the appropriate remedy would be to have the unions refund the portion of dues spent on politics.

On this basis, the case was sent back to the Georgia courts which then proceeded to direct the defendant unions to produce their books and records in order that a determination might be made as to the amounts spent on political action. The unions vigorously resisted the order, and later refunded all dues previously paid by the plaintiffs rather than open their books.

Supreme Court Justices William O. Douglas and Hugo Black vigorously protested the fact that the court had refused to face the constitutional issues in the *Street* case. In a sharply worded dissent, Black stated:

"There can be no doubt that the federally sanctioned union-shop contract here, as it actually works, takes a part of the earnings of some men and turns it over to others, who spend a substantial part of the funds so received in efforts to thwart the political, economic and ideological hopes of those whose money has been forced from them under authority of law. This injects federal compulsion into the political and ideological process, a result which I have supposed everyone would agree the 1st Amendment was particularly intended to prevent and it makes no difference if, as urged, political and legislative activities are helpful adjuncts of collective bargaining. . . .

"The stark fact is that this act of Congress [Railway Labor Act] is being used as a means to exact money from these employes to help get votes to win elections for parties and candidates and to support doctrine they are against. If this is constitutional, the 1st Amendment is not the charter of political and religious liberty its sponsors believed it to be." Justice Douglas had similar sentiments. Justice Black then prophesied in his dissent that: "The constitutional question raised in this case is bound to come back here soon with a record so meticulously perfect that the court can't escape deciding it."

Speaking before the Duke University law school, Rep. John Rhodes (R.-Ariz.), an expert on labor law, noted if such a case were presented in today's court, "there is reason to believe that the majority would find compulsory unionism in any of its forms contrary to the express and implied constitutional guarantees of individual liberty. The recent trend of the court's decisions in civil rights cases has so vastly expanded the safeguards of the 1st, 5th and 14th Amendments that it is almost inconceivable that the court would now fail to include the right to work within their protection."

The current California case is considered to be the type of case Justice Black and Rep. Rhodes were talking about—and that's why the union bosses are concerned.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS from INSIDE WASHINGTON

LBJ's 'Bagmen'

How times have changed. During the Eisenhower Administration, then-Sen. Lyndon Johnson lodged vigorous protests when Defense Secretaries Charles Wilson and Neil McElroy engaged in "partisan politics" by responding to Democratic criticism of Ike's military policies. In the last fortnight, however, Johnson has pressed into political service not only his defense secretary, but his secretaries of state, interior, transportation, agriculture and commerce. Moreover, at least four of the Cabinet members have been used as "bagmen" to round up contributions for the Johnson campaign kitty.

McNAMARA

Defense Secretary McNamara was first used to counter the criticism of GOP presidential hopeful George Romney. Secretary of State Rusk was then flown to California to plead the Administration's Viet Nam case with Democratic fat cats.

Neither McNamara nor Rusk, as far as is known, actually shilled for Democratic fund-raisers. But the secretaries of four other departments willingly hawked tickets for the upcoming $1,000-a-couple President's Ball. In doing so they left themselves open to serious conflict-of-interest charges.

Early in September the acting treasurer of the Democratic National Committee, John Criswell, sent invitations for an "intimate" reception to many of the top air, rail and trucking lobbyists in the Nation's Capital. The invitation promised: "[Transportation] Secretary Boyd will discuss matters of interest to you at this small, informal gathering."

Although 40 lobbyists showed up to buy tickets for the Johnson gala, Boyd maintained that he had done no wrong: "I am glad to do anything I can honestly and ethically to help Lyndon Johnson. I knew this speech was endorsed and encouraged by the Democratic National Committee. I was asked to talk about our programs and urge support for the President."

Shortly thereafter, Secretary of the Interior Udall met with top Washington lobbyists to plug the President's dinner. A spokesman for Udall first denied that he had aided the President, then said: "It wasn't on his official schedule. What he does after hours is his own business."

Commerce Secretary Alexander Trowbridge, Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, and Betty Furness, the President's "consumer affairs" adviser, also aided the fund-raising effort.

Freeman was characteristically frank: "I told them [the lobbyists] what I've been telling people all over the United States in all kinds of meetings. During the last seven years, this country has made great progress under a vigorous and determined Democratic leadership. I told them that President Johnson and Vice President Humphrey would be re-elected."

Those 'Harmless' Radicals

"When will the Administration acknowledge the threat of the radical left?"

The question has asked last week by a top federal official, himself a Democrat, in the wake of the latest revelations concerning the Revolutionary Action Movement.

SPECTER

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has for several years given Congress closed-door testimony regarding RAM, the super-secret black nationalist group whose patron saint is Robert Franklin Williams, the American expatriate now in Peking.

The FBI, it is reported, has been prepared for some time to move against RAM, but has yet to receive the go-ahead from Atty. Gen. Ramsey Clark. Thus, earlier this summer it was not the bureau but New York authorities who rounded up RAM ringleaders and charged them with plotting the murder of moderate civil rights leaders, including Roy Wilkins and Whitney Young.

And last week it was not the FBI, but Philadelphia District Attorney Arlen Specter who exposed a fantastic RAM plot to kill off "thousands of policemen and other citizens" by slipping deadly potassium cyanide into their food and beverages.

Citing the detailed first-hand evidence of a RAM defector, Specter's office charged that RAM leaders had mapped plans "to commit murder, to cause public chaos by destruction of private and public property and to literally destroy the city by violence."

The RAM defector also disclosed that: "It was [RAM's] intention, once the [planned] riots started in the city, the poison would be distributed through their agents at various places throughout the city for the purpose of placing it in food and drink that would be gratuitously offered to policemen assigned to the riot area. Also, the potassium cyanide would be distributed to restaurants throughout the city in

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which policemen and other citizens would be taking food and drink at the time."

Among the reported RAM targets were Specter, Mayor James Tate, Police Commissioner Frank Rizzo, and literally thousands of Philadelphia policemen.

Lindsay's Poverty Warrior

Rep. Paul Fino (R.-N.Y.) launched a scathing indictment of the "War on Poverty" last week, and in the process tore the hide off "Fun City" Mayor John Lindsay. In recent weeks, said the Bronx lawmaker, we have been "deluged by propaganda from the Office of Economic Opportunity advertising the accomplishments of the phony 'War on Poverty,' but I believe that most of the members of this House have not been fooled. The plain truth is that the so-called war against poverty is a well-heeled gravy train for agitators, 'Black Power' advocates and Communists."

LINDSAY

Fino then revealed that New York City's Neighborhood Youth Corps, employing 40,000 young New Yorkers at $1.50 an hour, is headed by Robert Schrank, who has a strong affiliation for Communist causes.

"During the late 1940s," said Fino, "he was an official of the International Association of Machinists, but he was expelled from the union in 1948 for parroting the Communist line.

"The Machinists, like most American labor unions, have an excellent record of cleaning out subversives the moment they show themselves. I wish we could say the same thing for the anti-poverty program, where coddling of left-wingers has been made into an ideology.

"In 1952, according to the files of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, Mr. Schrank was the chairman of a conference held in New York City to repeal the Smith Act [under which Communists had been indicted]. He was then employed as an international representative of the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union, which had been expelled by the AFL-CIO in 1950 as a Communist-dominated front. By this time it was apparent that Mr. Schrank was a hard-core Communist sympathizer. . . . He stayed with the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers until 1955. . . .

"Later in 1962, Mr. Schrank was listed among those former officials of the International Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers Union who were shown to have been members of the Communist party. He was so cited by the Federal Subversive Activities Control Board in 1962. The case in question is *Kennedy vs. International Mine Mill and Smelter Workers,* May 4, 1962, Docket No. 116-56."

Fino says he finds it "incredible" that someone with such far-left views could have been picked to run New York City's youth program. "After all," said Fino, "Mr. Schrank's record is public knowledge, and Mayor Lindsay certainly should have looked into Mr. Schrank's background before giving him charge of the 40,000 young New Yorkers. I regret to say that the mayor is guilty of rather woeful negligence or a great error of judgment. Maybe the mayor thinks that extremism is a virtue. It was only a few months ago that he went for a plane ride with a . . . group called the 'Five-Percenters' who think that the other 95 per cent of Negroes have sold out to Whitey. Maybe it is all part of 'Fun City.' "

Galbraith Corrects Record

The September 2 issue of *Human Events* carried some quotations from an article in the Washington *Post* strongly conveying the impression that John Kenneth Galbraith, chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action, was opposed to the Korean War. Subsequently, we wrote to Mr. Galbraith and asked him if the article may have been misleading. Mr. Galbraith replied: "There was indeed some misinterpretation. I was not opposed to the Korean War. On the contrary, it had my active support."

Continued from page 1

Congress Must Halt Spending

many of them, including Democrats like Fulbright (Ark.) and Ribicoff (Conn.) who are up for re-election in 1968, possess great quantities of this gall.

The House has trifled with the taxpayers somewhat less lightly, but our enthusiasm for its conduct in handling legislation is largely restrained.

Indeed, it was the House which had a chance to kill off the model cities program but, in a fit of demagogy, approved this spending venture a few months ago. On September 14, by a 189-to-168 rollcall vote, it passed and sent to conference a $886.7-million program for Appalachia.

On September 19, along with the Senate, the House approved a bill to continue the food stamp program for two years. The Administration in its fiscal 1968 budget had requested an appropriation of just $195 million and had estimated expenditures of $193 million. How much did our "friends" in the House authorize? Two hundred million for fiscal 1968 and $225 million for fiscal 1969.

Almost unnoticed in the flurry of legislation that has recently been whipping through Congress was the House endorsement of the Public Broadcasting Act. Similar to the Senate's, the House bill calls for pouring out millions of dollars to construct new TV facilities (plus increasing the maximum allowable federal share in project costs from 50 to 75 per cent); authorizing $500,000 for a study of instructional television and authorizing $9 million from the general tax to fund a new Corporation for Public Broadcasting. This presidentially controlled corporation is not only an expensive new plaything for Congress and the bureaucrats to spend money on, but is dangerous in that it permits public control of the *contents* of educational television programs.

And then, of course, there is the $40-million "Rat Bill" the House has decided to fund. In what is now ancient history, the House defeated the $40-million Administration rat-extermination program 207 to 176 back in July on the grounds there were numerous other anti-rat programs being funded by the federal government and that the whole problem was really local in nature.

But the press took after the program's opponents and Jesse Gray, a black militant who took the Fifth when asked if he had ever been a Communist, illegally stormed the House galleries with a band of sleazy followers from New York to protest that "Rats Cause Riots." Presto!, 45 "courageous" Republicans and six "brave" Democrats switched their July stand and the House has approved a $40-million anti-rat law (see page 15 for this rollcall and a notation of those who switched their votes). With friends like this, as the cliche goes, who needs enemies?

We expect such spend-spend legislation to emanate from the Democrats, who have been assailing the middle class with expensive boondoggles and tax hikes for more than 30 years. And we expect such liberal Democrats as Sen. William Proxmire of Wisconsin to attempt to hoax his constituents by vigorously championing economy in government and then quietly voting for such lavish projects as the model cities and rent subsidy programs. Such Democratic spend-thrifts, of course, should be thrown out of office.

But where are the Republicans in all this? Most of them, to be sure, are for economy in government and practice what they preach far more than the Democrats. And a number of Republicans stand out as unrelenting defenders of the taxpayer. Sen. John Williams of Delaware and Representatives H. R. Gross of Iowa and Frank T. Bow of Ohio immediately come to mind, though there are many, many others.

Yet all too often a sizable portion of the Republican party meekly goes along with wild spending programs even in these fiscally perilous times. There were those 45 Republicans who switched to support the rat control program and there are formerly staunch conservatives like Rep. Louis Wyman of New Hampshire who this year alone has voted for the model cities, public broadcasting corporation and rat control programs.

And what about such Republicans like William Springer of Illinois, who waged an all-out war against the rat control program, but then turned right around to support the Public Broadcasting Act? These lawmakers, while undoubtedly more conservative than their Democratic brethren, should have the riot act read to them by their constituents for helping to steer this nation toward bankruptcy. They'll listen. Next year they're up for re-election.

Voters should also put the heat on Republican senators tackling anti-poverty legislation. The anti-poverty program, it can almost conclusively be proved, helped to spark city rebellions that have literally wiped out the savings of hundreds of small businessmen and home owners, and it has produced what it was allegedly supposed to cure: abject poverty. Yet now, fantastic as it may seem, the Senate's Committee on Labor and Public Welfare has concocted a $5-billion anti-poverty measure which even the Administration wants to halve.

The GOP reaction to this gigantic package has been something less than an overburdened taxpayer should expect. Sen. Everett Dirksen, the GOP minority leader, who should be absolutely opposed to extending this horrible boondoggle, thinks the bill can be reduced, but seems to have no intention of cutting it to the bone or killing it altogether. And the Republican views attached to the committee's report heartily praise the concept of the "War on Poverty" and claim the "community action program"—the greatest flop in the whole anti-poverty package—"is close to the heart of much of the Republican philosophy. . . ." The Republicans do point out waste and inefficiency, but no one dares say: "Let's junk this monstrosity."

Debating the bill on the floor of the Senate, Winston Prouty (R.-Vt.) said: "I have consistently voiced doubts about the efficacy of the Economic Opportunity Act as it is presently designed. Yet since I have agreed with and continue to support its purpose, and because I see an increasing urgency for legislation in this area, I have not and will not introduce any disabling or crippling amendments to this bill."

How's that for defending the taxpayer! The man thinks the bill is no good, but won't lift a finger to get it rejected!

We don't begrudge the fact that we are being taxed to finance the war in Viet Nam. We'd gladly accept a heavier surcharge tax if that would somehow achieve victory and stop the fighting. And we're all for spending the necessary amount of money to build a first-rate military defense. But since we—and we suspect most other taxpayers—are willing to share the vital burden of defense, we need representatives in Congress who are courageous enough to protect us from ill-conceived domestic programs that the present majority of lawmakers just don't have the gumption to resist.

We need those who will voice the opinion of the unorganized, average, middle-class taxpayer, those who will not vote to spend a penny on any new programs as long as the war in Viet Nam continues and as long as the budget is spectacularly out of balance.

Why should Congress authorize new, liberal domestic programs when even the liberals are skeptical of the value? Daniel Patrick Moynihan, director of the Harvard-MIT Joint Center for Urban affairs, last week told the executive board of the Americans for Democratic Action that liberals should "divest themselves of the notion that the nation . . . can be run from agencies in Washington" and should work toward decentralization of power. This can hardly be accomplished by new spending measures whose chief beneficiaries appear to be federal bureaucrats and favored interests who soak up the vast sums of money earmarked for a program before any of it reaches those the program is intended to help.

We're sick and tired of the spending philosophy that runs rampant through an ignoble Congress. The lawmakers have passed many of their programs, it has been observed, with the aim of paying ransom to those who threaten to destroy our cities unless the Congress comes across with cash. It would be a sorry time for America if the ordinary taxpayer has to resort to the drastic revolutionary tactics of the Jesse Grays before he can achieve a break from the men who are supposed to represent them in Congress.

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POLITICS '68

ROCKEFELLER

New York's Gov. **Nelson Rockefeller** is after the GOP presidential nomination—no matter what he says now. That's the opinion of politicos who know him. Rocky has been sending out his speeches and things of this sort to some newsmen for eight or nine months now, and he is beginning to comment more and more on national affairs. A top Romney aide in Washington, furthermore, is considered to be actually working for Rocky on a sub rosa basis. Friends of the governor, furthermore, have been quietly planting the idea of a Rocky-Reagan ticket, which has appeared to have caught the fancy of the pollsters.

Significantly, Rocky has given his approval for a drive to get him designated as New York's favorite-son candidate for the 1968 GOP presidential nomination. The tentative decision by Republicans to make the governor a favorite son represents a switch from the strategy evolved last year—to hand the role to Sen. Jacob Javits in the hope of projecting him into a vice presidential nomination. (Javits has virtually abandoned his VP hopes and is concentrating his efforts on getting renominated and re-elected to the Senate in 1968.)

ROCKEFELLER

Yet many Republicans still think Rocky will have a difficult time winning the nomination. He's known as **"Rocky the Wrecker"** in many quarters, for his having charged that Republican "bossism" prevented him from winning the GOP nomination in 1960 and for his lethal campaigning in the primaries against Goldwater in 1964. His positions, furthermore, are still too liberal for most Republicans.

According to the Aug. 24, 1967, Kansas City Star, Rocky, referring to the recent racial rioting, said: "I'm very optimistic. The racial situation is a sign of progress." He is also in favor of LBJ's anti-poverty program. On ABC's "Issues and Answers," Rocky lavished praise on LBJ for initiating the concept, saying: "His anti-poverty program will go down in history."

WALLACE

Florida's Brevard County will become the site for political workers to learn how to raise $20 million to finance the campaign of former Gov. **George Wallace.**

According to the Tampa Tribune, the kickoff for establishing the "school" will be a $1,000-a-plate dinner for 1,500 guests at the new Cape Kennedy Hilton Hotel during the first week in November. Wallace, himself, will be the star attraction. Part of the money raised at this affair will be plowed into the "school" which is supposed to instruct representatives of Wallace committees scattered throughout the country.

WALLACE

Directing this center, according to reports, will be John Horn, a Cape Canaveral insurance man and banker. Horn has beaten the high echelon financial bushes for such prominent political figures as U.S. Senators Spessard Holland and George Smathers and former Florida Gov. Farris Bryant. Training films, literature and classroom lectures will be utilized at the Wallace "school."

• Stumping through Oklahoma City last week, Wallace said that none of the prospective Democratic or Republican candidates—from LBJ to Gov. Ronald Reagan—have acceptable presidential platforms that he could run on. If they don't come up with one by early next year, he said, he would probably announce for the presidency as a third-party candidate, rather than seek the nomination through the "preferential primary route" as he did in his short-lived candidacy in 1964. According to the ex-governor, an acceptable platform would be one that "promises that the federal government will let state and local governments run their own schools and other institutions."

Gallup Poll

The pros' belief that the "brainwashed" **George Romney** has dug his own political grave was confirmed last week by pollster George Gallup.

A survey conducted just before the "brainwashing" furor showed Romney the second choice of party rank-and-filers for the GOP presidential nomination. But a poll taken immediately after the controversy disclosed that the Michigan governor had fallen to fourth place.

Richard Nixon led both surveys, with 40 per cent of the Republicans now favoring his nomination. Nixon gained five percentage points as Romney dropped from 24 to 14. Rockefeller, with 17 per cent, and Reagan, with 16, both passed Romney on the Gallup charts. Trailing the field were Percy, with 9 per cent, and Hatfield and Lindsay with 1 per cent each.

Asked to choose between Nixon and Romney, GOP voters favored the former Veep 66 to 31, a sharp improvement over his earlier 52-to-38 showing. Against Rockefeller, Nixon also holds a wide lead—65 to 33.

ILLINOIS

Conservative-minded **Richard Ogilvie**, former sheriff of Cook County in Chicago and currently the president of the county board, is the likely GOP candidate for governor of Illinois next year. Assuming he wins the nomination, he will probably square off against Democratic Gov. Otto Kerner should Kerner decide to run.

OGILVIE

Ogilvie's chances for getting nominated improved significantly last week as the Illinois Republican state central committee voted unanimously to recommend an open primary next year for aspirants to eight state and national offices. The action was interpreted as a victory for Ogilvie over a faction promoting John Henry Altorfer, a Peoria industrialist. The Altorfer faction was promoting a state nominating convention.

Speaking before the Illinois Federation of Republican Women, Ogilvie last week said it was time for people to stop weeping over "imaginary police brutality" and start worrying about crime increases, looting and destruction "in the guise of dissent." Altorfer, speaking before the same group, criticized the Democrats for saying they were proposing bold new programs in 1960 and 1964 when, in fact, these programs were throwbacks to the New Deal.

• High-placed Illinois politicos believe that Chicago Mayor **Richard Daley**, undisputed boss of the state Democratic party, may order Gov. Otto Kerner to stand aside next year so that he (Daley) can seek the job. Daley might see to it that Kerner runs for the Senate against GOP leader Everett Dirksen or gets elevated to a federal judgeship, according to one report.

HICKS

Politicos were impressed with the large plurality won last week by Mrs. **Louise Day Hicks** in her bid to become Boston's first woman mayor. Returns from all 275 precincts revealed the 48-year-old grandmother, who made a national reputation by opposing compulsory busing of children as head of the Boston School Committee, leading the nine other candidates in the non-partisan primary. Her closest opponent was Massachusetts Secretary of State Kevin H. White, who polled some 31,400 votes, 12,000 behind Mrs. Hicks. Both White, who has the all-out support of Teddy Kennedy, and Mrs. Hicks will face each other in the November 7 run-off election.

HICKS

Insiders say that Mrs. Hicks, still a member of the school committee, may not win the November 7 election, but that her strong showing reflects considerable conservative strength in the big cities. Mrs. Hicks has not only fought for the neighborhood school concept, but has been a strong opponent of rioting and has sharply criticized features of the federal urban renewal program.

PERCY

GOP dark horse candidate Sen. **Charles Percy** (R.-Ill.) continues to creep over to the right in his views in regard to communism. Initially a big promoter of East-West harmony, in recent weeks Percy has severely condemned the Soviets. On record in favor of a coalition government for South Viet Nam, Percy now stresses the U.S. must get "iron-clad international guarantees" for "the integrity and the right of self-determination of the people of South Viet Nam" before American troops can leave.

PERCY

• Addressing a fund-raising dinner for the Romney-leaning District of Columbia Republican Committee, Percy extolled the virtues of the three leading "R's" in the GOP: Rockefeller, Romney and Reagan. Only the mention of Reagan, however, moved the audience to applause.

JAVITS

Sen. **Jacob Javits** (R.-N.Y.), who once was considered as a possible 1968 running mate for Gov. George Romney of Michigan, has all but given up on the governor's chances to win the Republican presidential nomination, according to inside sources.

JAVITS

Javits' private assessment is that Romney's "brainwashing" blunder has just about washed him up and he's now turning his eyes toward Gov. Rockefeller.

ROMNEY

Gov. Romney will formally announce his candidacy for President in October, according to the Associated Press. He will reportedly toss his hat into the ring shortly after returning to Michigan at the end of his current 17-city tour. Aides of the governor think he may declare his candidacy on a TV" report to the people."

• The governor has also changed his mind again on an important political issue—open housing legislation. Previously on record strongly endorsing a federal open-housing law—indeed, he had publicly urged Sen. Everett Dirksen to support the Administration's bill on this—Romney twice declined to answer whether he still supported such a law in a recent TV interview in San Francisco.

NEW HAMPSHIRE

With little more than five months to go before New Hampshire's first-in-the-nation presidential primary, Richard Nixon holds a substantial lead.

Only George Romney, at this time at least, is prepared to challenge the former vice president. And the polls indicate that the Michigan governor has quite a gap to close. For example:

• Rep. James Cleveland (R.-N.H.), who is considered pro-Romney, surveyed his constituents and found Nixon holding a 2-to-1 lead. The Cleveland poll, moreover, was taken prior to the "brainwashing" controversy that has sent Romney's popularity plummeting everywhere.

• The powerful Manchester Union-Leader reported that a sample of its readers showed 207 for Nixon, 144 for Reagan, 25 for Rockefeller and only 7 for Romney.

• A straw poll conducted at the University of New Hampshire gave Nixon 138 votes, Romney 71, Rockefeller 70, Reagan 53 and New York Mayor John Lindsay 30.

ADA

Friends of LBJ considered it a victory that the national board of the influential Americans for Democratic Action soundly defeated a proposed policy statement which called upon liberal Democrats to work for LBJ's defeat next year. But the President's allies had little else to crow about.

Meeting in Washington last week, the ADA resolutely rejected a proposed endorsement of Johnson's domestic and foreign policies, vigorously opposed our present policy in Viet Nam, assailed LBJ's 10 per cent surcharge on income taxes and condemned the decision to build even a limited anti-ballistic missile defense. ADA Chairman John Kenneth Galbraith, furthermore, stressed the ADA is not necessarily tied to the Democratic party.

All in all, say observers, it revealed the ever-growing disenchantment with

LBJ

GALBRAITH

LBJ among egghead liberals, which spells additional trouble for the President's re-election chances.

REUTHER

Walter Reuther, president of the United Auto Workers, has personally endorsed President Johnson for another term in the White House, even though he has some misgivings about Administration policy in Viet Nam. Though hoping for a halt in the bombing of North Viet Nam, Reuther said on "Meet the Press" that the Democratic party philosophy and the President's domestic program make him far preferable to any other Republican on the horizon, including Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York.

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No Apology This Time

By MORRIE RYSKIND

I've learned to go slow in apologizing. In the 1964 campaign I quoted LBJ's promise to "take from the haves and give to the have-nots," and noted its similarity to Karl Marx's "To each according to his needs."

Immediately I was swamped by telegrams, phone calls, letters and even an editorial, all accusing me of misrepresentation. The phrase had been used, I was told, in a message to Congress stressing that some governmental agencies were getting too little funds while others got too much. It was a plea for efficiency—not, as I had implied, a crass appeal for votes. And I owed my readers an apology.

The anger seemed righteous enough and convinced me that I had erred in relying on memory and not checking up on the circumstances. Whereupon I wrote a column making apology for striking an unwitting low blow.

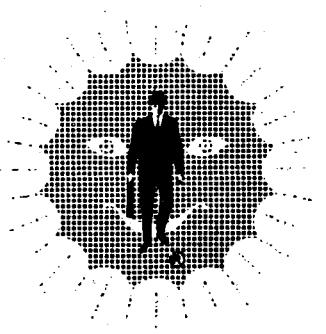
That should have been that. But it wasn't. The indignant publisher of the Huntington (Ind.) *Herald-Press* called me long-distance to refer me to the *Congressional Record* for the text in which the disputed phrase appeared. And there it was—as an official White House release headed "Remarks of the President to a Group of Senior Citizens." Congress? Efficiency? It was plain I'd been had.

So I just as publicly withdrew my apology and awaited one from the righteous who had been so wrong. . . . I'm still waiting.

And here we go again. I have a sheaf of letters demanding an apology for my misrepresentation of FDR's famous 1940 speech, in which he pledged "again and again and again" never to send our boys to fight in foreign wars. All the writers heard that speech via radio and "distinctly remember" that the reservation, "unless we are attacked," was added to that pledge—though omitted by me. My wording made FDR seem "devious."

Well, I also heard that speech and distinctly remember no such thing. And here let me cite the testimony of Robert Sherwood, who helped prepare the speech, from his *Roosevelt and Hopkins*. Herewith is a digest of pages 189-194, and every revealing adjective is Sherwood's, not mine:

"The Madison Square Garden speech (October 28) was one of the most equivocal of Roosevelt's career. Here he went to the length of taking credit for the Neutrality Law and other measures which he had thoroughly disapproved and had contrived by all possible means to circumvent.



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FDR flatly stated in 1940 that "Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars." Period.

"The day after, Roosevelt was back in Washington for the drawing of the first numbers (800,000) under the Selective Service Act. With the word 'warmonger' being thrown recklessly about, Roosevelt chose his words with extraordinary care. With his marvelous gift for homely, old-fashioned words, he did not refer to Selective Service as a 'draft'—nor 'conscription'—he called it a 'muster,' evoking memories of the farmers of Lexington and Concord taking to their flintlock muskets.

"The fear-of-war hysteria reached its peak that day. The Gallup Poll indicated Willkie was steadily gaining. Democratic leaders were becoming jittery . . . they demanded that FDR provide absolute guarantee to the mothers of America that their sons would not fight.

"On October 30 the presidential train headed for the final speech at the Boston Arena. At each stop more and more telegrams were delivered stating that if the President did not give that solemn promise, he might as well start packing his belongings at the White House.

"Roosevelt asked, 'How often do they expect me to say that? It's in the platform and I've repeated it a hundred times.'

"Whereupon, I [Sherwood] remarked, 'They don't seem to have heard you. You've got to say it again—and again—and again.'

"So it was put in, as follows:

"And while I am talking to you, mothers and fathers, I give you one more assurance. I have said this before, but I shall say it again and again and again. Your boys are not going to be sent into any foreign wars."

Sherwood notes that Sam Rosenman wanted to add the words, "except in case of attack." But Roosevelt demurred: "Of course, we'll fight if we're attacked."

So plainly, he did not use the phrase my correspondents "distinctly remember." Sorry, boys, but there's no apology coming this time.

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THE "WAR ON POVERTY" came under fire recently from an unexpected source. In a speech before a Minnesota AFL-CIO convention, Russell Albrecht of the Detroit League for the Handicapped took sharp issue with top anti-poverty officials. "If the Detroit program is the best in the nation, as it was recently described by Sargent Shriver, then we must bleed for what is going on elsewhere," Albrecht said.

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Why Our New Frontiersmen Prefer Nuclear Stalemate

By EDGAR ANSEL MOWRER

And now we know!

Secretary of Defense McNamara's speech to the editors of United Press International at San Francisco reveals, if not the full facts about the nuclear arms race, at least what Administration leaders think are the facts. It also confirms what we suspected about the secretary's hopes. A paraphrased summary:

Main thesis: The nuclear stalemate is permanent and neither the Russians nor the Americans can do anything about it except agree to preserve it while slowing down armament on both sides. As McNamara put it: "Neither the Soviets nor we are going to risk the other's obtaining a first-strike capability."

By first capability he meant not the ability to strike first (which either can do any time), but to strike first with such force and effectiveness that the other side will be unable to launch a devastating "second strike."

Both sides now have effective second-strike forces. In its determination not to be outdone, the United States has created more nuclear weapons than we need.

The Kremlin's investment in anti-missile missiles is a useless extravangance since it merely forces Washington further to increase our offensive power, which can be done at less expense than any known defense system.

Since Red China still lacks the means of rapidly increasing its nuclear armament, a limited anti-missile missile system against a potential Chinese attack on America can be useful.

Both the United States and the Soviet Union would benefit from a properly safeguarded agreement first to limit, and later to reduce, both our offensive and defensive strategic nuclear forces.

The United States believes that the proliferation of nuclear weapons, even into the hands of allies as much devoted to peace as we, would, in the end, "only increase the risk of a common and cataclysmic holocaust."

Finally, the secretary stated, "unlike any other era in history, today a substantial superiority of weapons does not effectively translate into political control or diplomatic leverage."

Such is a rough summary of the Administration's nuclear policy. Granted its assumptions, it makes sense.

Why, then, the reader may ask, do the best informed congressmen and senators of the Joint Congressional Committee on Atomic Energy insist that the United States, imitiating the Russians, use our vastly superior resources to build an over-all defense system against the Soviet Union? Sen. Jackson of Washington would protect only our missile sites. Sen. Pastore of Rhode Island would shelter as much of the population as possible.

The reason is clear. These well-informed legislators do not share McNamara's confidence that the United States is keeping ahead of the Russians in destructive power, that the Soviet anti-missile defense can necessarily be penetrated by more missiles and that the nuclear stalemate is necessarily permanent. Sooner or later some scientist may devise a new weapon either capable of destroying all incoming missiles or as a first strike of eliminating any second-strike capability in the target country.

These are technical questions which only technicians can decide. Certain is that an anti-missile system capable of protecting even a large segment of the American people would vastly increase what McNamara called our "political control and diplomatic leverage." No longer would the peaceniks cry so effectively against the danger of escalation in Viet Nam or elsewhere.

A year ago in Japan and last summer in Europe, leaders expressed to me their hope that the United States would, if it builds an anti-missile defense at home, help equip these countries with such defense.

They complained that the U.S. Administration has yet to explain just how it would defend them against overwhelming conventional attack without using our first-strike force. They had confindence that under Eisenhower, the United States would not hesitate. Kennedy destroyed the faith and Johnson has so far not revived it.

Reading and rereading the San Francisco speech, I saw evidence of something I have long suspected: New Frontiersmen prefer the nuclear stalemate to our nuclear preponderance. For such a preponderance would thwart their aim of permanent Russo-American cooperation without and within the United Nations to impose peace and disarmament upon all lesser breeds.

So far President Johnson has done nothing to indicate that he has abandoned this immoral and ultimately disastrous ambition.

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ENDLESS CONFLICT?—"It comes as something of a shock to realize that the United States has now been engaged longer in Viet Nam under President Johnson than it was engaged in defeating the Axis powers in World War II. It has been 46 months since President Johnson succeeded to the presidency and inherited the Vietnamese involvement that still was relatively minor at the time of President Kennedy's assassination. This country's participation in World War II lasted 45 months."—From the *Daily Oklahoman*

McNamara's Pilot Hoax

By BARRY GOLDWATER

Another of Robert McNamara's dishonest, deliberate, destructive and dangerous deceptions of the American people is being circulated.

According to his spokesmen at the Pentagon we have 20 per cent more pilots than we need.

McNamara must know this is not true. There is no polite word for this latest falsehood from the man who daily jeopardizes our defense.

There should be no way for Americans to overlook it. There should be no way for the President to overlook it.

McNamara should be fired, and that is all there is to that. Every day he retains his office, our defense posture weakens. Every day he stays in office we come closer to one-sided disarmament.

McNamara is the worst secretary of defense we have ever had, and this incident regarding the pilots is just one more item of evidence toward proving it.

Here are the facts.

Our shortage of pilots is so acute, it was reported earlier this year, that 2,300 overage pilots, men older than 45 who had been flying for more than 20 years, were put back on active flying status. It is dishonest to include them in a count of combat-pilot adequacy.

Four months ago Rear Adm. G. E. Miller testified before a Senate Preparedness subcommittee of a serious shortage of military pilots.

Also this year the Air Force reported it expected to lose a record 1,600 pilots through resignations. (The lowered morale that so obviously contributes to such a flood of resignations may be traced in large part to the manner in which McNamara and his "whiz kids" have downgraded military service, silenced military spokesmen and whittled away at every area of military preparedness.)

The loss of Air Force pilots is so great, in fact, that even an announced increase in pilot training—an increase which McNamara held up for years—can now do no more than hold the line.

In the Navy the situation is every bit as bad. Just a few months ago Adm. David L. McDonald told reporters that an "unbelievable" number of Navy pilots was quitting. The fantastic figures indicate the Navy is losing 65 per cent of its pilots.

Finally, the Senate Preparedness subcommittee has now reported a "service shortage" of combat pilots.

All of this is not new. As far back as 1961, both as an Air Force officer and as a U.S. senator, I warned specifically of a service pilot shortage developing due to the shortshighted planning of Robert Strange McNamara. A report that I prepared on the subject specifically said that the shortage would become critical during 1966-67.

Sen. John Stennis, the subcommittee chairman, says McNamara's office has used "novel bookkeeping practices, statistical sleight of hand, adjusted requirements and paper balances" to juggle figures on the pilot shortage.

How long will he get away with it?

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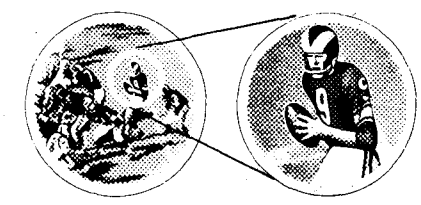

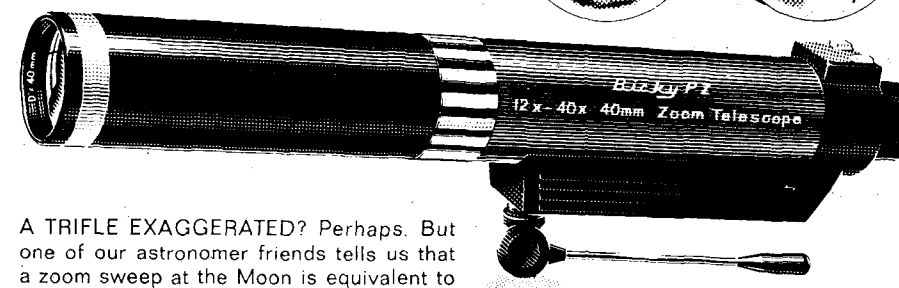

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Further Lure on Welfarism

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Vichy, France:—There's nothing like listening to economists from some 15 countries to get perspective. The Americans attending the week-long "colloquy" of the Mont Pelerin international economic society in Vichy are troubled with the prospect of wage and price controls in their own country, and fear what they call "creeping Galbraithism" (named for the Harvard economics professor who is the chairman of Americans for Democratic Action).

But the English, who have been watching their country stagnate under "universalized" social services paid for out of endless taxation, report a healthy revolt in their country against all the things that are being advocated as "cures" in Washington.

Thus the two Englishmen who run the Institute of Economic Affairs in London, Ralph Harris and Arthur Seldon, bring news of a reaction in Prime Minister Harold Wilson's dominant Labour party against the long-sanctified idea of the late Lord Beveridge that compulsory social services should be the same for everyone.

The new word in Britain is "selectivity," meaning that those who can afford it and desire it should be allowed to "contract out" of the welfare programs that are now forced on the entire population.

The Messrs. Harris and Seldon, who are engaging polemicists, do not rest their case on arbitrary statement. They brought with them to Vichy the results of a wide-ranging poll of English opinion which validates their claim that the majority in Britain, whether they vote Labour or Conservative, wish to have choices in welfarism.

Thus 69 per cent of the British want the privilege of choosing between state and private schools for their children, 96 per cent prefer to select their own doctors, 78 per cent want to decide for themselves what percentage of their income they shall spend on housing, and 76 per cent wish to decide on their own sickness, retirement and unemployment insurance needs with only minimal state compulsion.

The particular American economist who excites the British is Milton Friedman of the University of Chicago. His suggestion that welfare payments might best be made in accordance with one's position on the income tax scale (with the poor who make less than $3,000 a year getting state support in the form of a "negative" tax) appeals to the wing of the Labour party which is losing its antipathy to the idea of a "means test."

According to Ralph Harris and Arthur Seldon, the "selectivity" in offering state welfare that is implicit in the Friedman "negative income tax" plan may very well take over in Labour party caucuses.

Some of the old followers of Lord Beveridge think "selectivity" is insulting to the poor, but many of the younger Labour politicians are willing to follow the dictates of public opinion. And Prime Minister Wilson, who is above all a student of power, will almost certainly go with his own party majority.

Harris, in a challenging paper read at one of the Mont Pelerin sessions, reported on the disillusion that is spreading in British Labour party circles after 20 years of "planning."

"A government pledged to extend all welfare services," he said, "has been brought to acknowledge that it cannot raise enough finance from taxation to do so. An intellectual battle is now being joined within the Labour party between the conservatives who insist on universal free services and the realists who are advocating changes.

"If President Johnson and the gnomes of Europe had not come to Mr. Wilson's rescue last year, the exhaustion of foreign currency reserves would have made more likely the adoption of a floating exchange rate. If politicians can be made to see that a free economy cannot merely be made to work but could win votes, we may increasingly enjoy the spectacle of the party men competing in 'affirming liberalism.'"

Mr. Harris' use of the word "liberalism" will not be understood in America, where the "liberals" are the ones who follow Prof. Galbraith in advocating the very "universalization" of welfare services that has brought England to its low financial estate. But as Britain climbs out of its present morass and America sinks more deeply into the Galbraithian swamp, Mr. Harris may become a prophet for the New World as well as the Old.

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LBJ Has Own Slum Plan

There are political as well as economic reasons for President Johnson's vigorous opposition to the Senate Labor Committee's controversial $2.8-billion federal emergency employment program for the big city ghettos.

The Administration's still-secret legislative proposal won't be ready for submission to Congress until early in 1968—a presidential election year.

In his backstage lobbying against the committee's proposal, the President is taking the hard line that no spending program of that magnitude should be approved until after his special commission on the recent civil disorders makes its report next January.

By that time, the President stresses, the Administration's new ghetto employment program, which the commission is being asked to support, will be ready to go to Congress.

Its target: those jobless inhabitants of the big cities who feel beaten down, who have given up trying to better their lot, and who don't care any more.

As outlined in a series of White House briefings for Democratic senators, the Administration's new program will recommend a double use of incentives—for employer and employes:

It will propose federal subsidies for on-the-job training for industries establishing plants in ghettos to employ local people.

And to motivate the jobless, a new type of community organization in the cores of cities would be formed with federal aid to induce the unemployed to make an effort once again.

The President contends that if Congress should approve the Senate Labor Committee's huge spending proposal at this session, this would rule out congressional action next year on his "new approach."

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The State Department has refused to reveal the details of the case involving Otto Otepka (left), and Secretary of State Dean Rusk reportedly will never reinstate the harassed security chief.

More Cover-Up in Otepka Case

Despite Freedom of Information Law, State Dept. holds back documents

By WILLARD EDWARDS

The State Department, defying President Johnson and the unanimous will of Congress, apparently has decided to ignore a new law guaranteeing the right of the American people to know how their government operates.

The Freedom of Information Act of 1967 went into effect last July 4 after a 13-year struggle in Congress to loosen the bureaucratic secrecy cover on government records which often was used to cover up blunders and errors, if not malfeasance.

James M. Stewart of Wood Dale, Ill., was the first man in line at the State Department to seek information under the act. He asked for data on a cause célèbre—the Otto F. Otepka case—which the State Department, for four years, has fought with every artifice at its command to conceal from public scrutiny.

Seventy-six days later, after repeated rebuffs, Stewart has been forced to the conclusion that "the State Department either reads this law differently than I do or various responsible officials have not read it at all."

Although President Johnson adjured all executive departments to obey both "the wording and spirit" of the new act, Stewart has been able to obtain only some meaningless pamphlets, releases and printed material.

He has been refused a copy of the ruling and the name of the official responsible for keeping the Otepka records secret.

The Otepka case represents precisely the type of concealment through official arrogance which drove Congress by unanimous vote to overcome the united opposition of every federal department and write into law the public's right to access to federal records.

There is no precedent in American history for the harassment, isolation, prosecution on trumped-up charges, and eventual dismissal of Otepka, former chief of evaluations in the State Department's Office of Security. A Senate investigation left no doubt that he was fired in November 1963 because he angered his superiors by questioning their security procedures and then compounding the crime by airing his doubts when summoned before the Senate Internal Security subcommittee.

At every step, the State Department sought to obstruct the Senate's inquiry into its campaign of revenge against Otepka. Two officials perjured themselves in an attempt to conceal evidence. Otepka's efforts to defend himself were frustrated until last June when he was given a secret "trial" from which public and press were barred. The 2,000-page transcript of testimony was declared "classified."

Stewart had a legitimate interest in the Otepka record. He is director of the American Defense Fund, formed to help pay the heavy legal expenses attached to Otepka's long battle for vindication.

His request for access to the records, it was learned, came up at a closed hearing in the State Department last July 18, when Otepka and his attorney, Roger Robb, met with Idar Rimestad, deputy under secretary of state for administration, and J. Edward Lyerly, deputy legal adviser for the State Department.

Lyerly announced that Stewart's petition would be rejected, despite the provisions of the new law. This statement contradicted a State Department announcement to the press four days earlier that Stewart would be given "all documents concerning the Otepka case he requested except one which does not exist."

Otepka and Robb protested that they wanted all evidence in the case to be made public. There was no possible legal basis for declaring any of the records "classified," they contended. Moreover, the Civil Service Commission on July 11, acting under the new Freedom of Information Act, had ruled that all "appeal files" should be open records.

The State Department refused to yield. Secretary of State Dean Rusk will be given the case for a decision October 10. He is reported to have sworn that, as long as he retains office, Otepka will never be reinstated.

In signing the new law, the President proclaimed the United States "an open society in which the people's right to know is cherished and guarded." The State Department, obviously, wasn't listening.

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"REP. EDWARD DERWINSKI (R.-Ill.), who has traveled far and wide, reports the average Pole in Poland prefers the Chinese Communist to the Russian Communist. 'The reason,' he says, 'China is farther away." —By Walter Trohan in the Chicago *Tribune*

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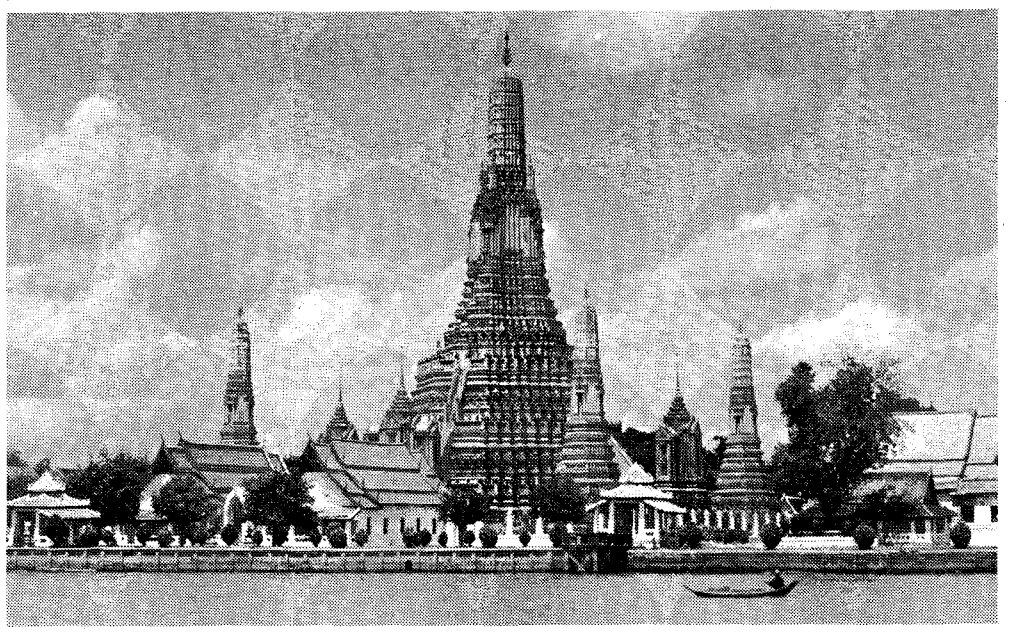
Red Step-Up Activities in Thailand

Red guerrilla activities in Thailand show disturbing parallels to the early Communist movements in neighboring Viet Nam. Although Thai government sources and American officials in the country state publicly that the situation is not alarming, privately they are more candid in their concern. Here's why:

• Between 1,500 and 2,000 well-armed and highly trained hardcore guerrilla fighters regularly terrorize and propagandize half-a-million people in nine northeastern provinces. Thailand's four southern provinces—those that link it with Malaysia—are under the hard fist of roaming terrorists. The guerrillas, some of them trained in North Viet Nam and Peking, sneak into villages and gain their support from the peasants through the use of propaganda and terror. There are midnight assassinations and kidnappings of village chiefs, schoolteachers and those who report to the government on the activities and whereabouts of the Communist forces.



Above, one of the many Buddhist temples which dot Bangkok, Thailand. Communist terrorism is on the upswing in the northern part of the country.

• The active supporters of the Red forces number between 50,000 and 100,000. Many more would side with the Communists if the situation were sharp enough because of the great lack of concern by the central government over their lot, coupled with the peasants' antipathy towards the corrupt local police and government officials. Supporters of the guerrillas could potentially number as much as half of the country's 30 million people, one source estimated.

• Since 1966, according to the Thai government's Communist Suppression Operations Command, the guerrillas have attacked police and army forces 38 times in the northeast and 30 times in the central areas. In heavy fighting with the Communists about 165 government troops were killed. To date, the Thai forces have captured over 20 North Viet Nam-trained cadres. Candidates for Red leadership are being sent to schools in the Communist-controlled southern sections of Laos, to Hua Binh in North Viet Nam and, if they show special ability, to Yunnan Province in southern China for advanced courses in Marxism-Leninism and insurgency warfare.

• About 45,000 North Vietnamese refugees live in border towns near Nong Khai and Laos. More than 90 per cent of them would like to return to their homes, but the Communists find them more useful as fund raisers for the guerrillas, as propagandists and as intelligence gatherers. Some of the refugees are trained in insurgency warfare and join the guerrillas in combat operations. Others are being enlisted to stage sabotage and mortar attacks on the U.S. air bases at Udon Thani, Nakorn Phanom and other areas of the northeast. The arms, propaganda materials, and the newly trained cadres are helicoptered to the northeast section of Thailand from Communist camps located in Laos and North Viet Nam.

Although the Thai government states that it has not captured any of these supply helicopters, a source close to the army told this reporter that one was shot down in Sakorn Phanom Province last year and that its French-trained pilot was killed in the crash.

• Anti-government and anti-U.S. programs are beamed daily from transmitters in Laos, North Viet Nam and Red China. The guerrilla radio "Thai Patriotic Front" broadcasts from sections of the northeastern provinces of Thailand. Recently the police were astonished when they were able to intercept a clandestine station operating in Bangkok itself.

• So far there is no evidence that large numbers of Pathet Lao or North Vietnamese regulars have infiltrated into the Thai guerrilla forces. However, not long ago the first Pathet Lao was reported killed by the government forces. If and when the Reds are ready—and so much of their timetable depends on their success in Viet Nam—the Ho Chi Minh Trail could be extended from southern Laos to northeastern Thailand. And then an all-out "peoples' revolution" would be waged.

• Two big elements stand in the way of the Communists and it is the combined effort of these elements that can defeat them. One is America's military presence in Viet Nam. If the U.S. government continues to step up the war and aims to win it, not only would the Thai Communist forces suffer a major setback, but also their blueprint for the rest of Southeast Asia would be destroyed. Secondly, the Thai government is trying hard to continue to hold the loyalty of the population. If the government security and civic teams can win over the rebel-controlled regions psychologically and hold them secure from future mass terrorism, there is little doubt among informed sources stationed in northern Thailand that the mass base of the rebels would also distintegrate.

These are the two big questions, the two big "ifs." War has not made the plateau of Thailand a battlefield yet—but it could well be just around the corner.

Mr. Bocklett, a free-lance writer on international affairs, has just completed a two-month tour of Southeast Asia. His report on Indonesia appeared in the September 23 issue of Human Events.

Swallow New Left Semantics

How TV Networks Get Taken In

By ROY COLBY

"This is a meeting of American radicals. Some would call themselves revolutionaries, but almost none are Marxists and almost none are Communists. They are members of the New Left."

With these somewhat reassuring words, narrator Bill Stout introduced the Columbia Broadcasting System's hour-long television documentary, "The New Left," by referring to the National Conference for New Politics held in Chicago nine days before.

One is reminded of the words of another narrator setting the tone for another network several months ago: "It is not our purpose to make anybody feel sorry for Khrushchev. . . ."

What the two documentaries have in common is the unwitting use of a semantic device which makes a denial in advance and then proceeds to establish what has been denied.

After denying sympathy for Khrushchev, NBC's documentary effectively created it. CBS's documentary contradicted its denial of Communist influence in the New Left movement by promoting the anti-anti-Communist theme.

Let's take a few examples from many. It doesn't really matter who said the following. What matters is that the statements were made on a supposedly impartial documentary which did not present opposing views, not even those of ex-New Leftist Phillip Abbott Luce, a *Human Events* contributing editor, who knows of the widespread Communist involvement in the movement from first-hand experience.

"If the young radicals are suspicious of the Liberal Establishment, they are frankly bored by communism."

"Communism as a force domestically in this country is virtually nonexistent."

The traditional Communist party in this country . . . has . . . accommodated itself to the American way of life too deeply to be considered radical or revolutionary."

" . . . nobody makes a big thing about Lenin's pamphlets on infantile disorders. . . ."

"It is basically our feeling that the Cold War should be over. . . ."

" . . . the very simplistic demonology of anti-communism and the concept of the international Communist conspiracy marks our foreign policy as being out of date and in some ways as being very dangerous."

"It is foreign policy issues which have gained for the Communists the few youthful recruits they have."

" . . . among these ideas are 1.: that the ADA-New-Deal-anti-Communist liberalism of the '30s is absolutely finished politically. . . ."

" . . . the idea that paranoid anti-communism no longer has a place in American life, the idea that America can no longer go around the world crushing popular revolutions in Cuba, the Dominican Republic or Viet Nam."

At the end of the program, the narrator summarized as follows:

"Many Americans will be afraid of the New Left and its harsh criticism of about everything this country lives by—from rigid anticommunism to the conviction that law and order and a good life for the majority ought to satisfy everyone."

Afraid? Yes—but not of a handful of young idealists searching for a cause to hang onto. Afraid, rather, that CBS and NBC really think they are performing a public service by buying, literally and figuratively, the revolutionary line.

Ousted Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev received favorable treatment on NBC's documentary about his retirement.

The three main objectives, then, of the New Left are opposition to (1) anti-communism, (2) law and order and (3) a good life for the majority. Could any action program strike deeper into the American way of life? We Americans are not afraid of harsh criticism provided it is made within the framework of law and order.

But this isn't the way the New Left means to do it. They plan to use "participatory democracy," a high-sounding revolutionary term meaning demonstrations turned to riots, cries of police brutality, guerrilla warfare—in short, more Watts', Newarks and Detroits. In shortest—liberation, Communist-style.

Stokely Carmichael put these three objectives quite succinctly: destruction of capitalism.

Let's not feel sorry for the exiled ex-Soviet leader who must be chuckling to himself on his lonely walks through the fields as he recalls his description of peaceful coexistence: "a weapon more perfect than ballistic missiles or nuclear submarines." For it was Khrushchev who ushered in the new Soviet policy four years ago. Remember?

The author, a former Foreign Service Officer, is now an assistant professor at Colorado State College, Greeley.

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Behind the Stock Market Rise

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Inflationary pressures are certainly pushing at the stock market. Behind the scenes there are reasons. These may have no more to do with the wishes of wise men than with Carl Yastrezemski and his bat. But, at the moment, they can be decisive.

The market can also (often) force even the Wall Street professionals to ask, like the Dutch comedian: "Wha' hoppon?" At the market's opening on April 14 one of the nation's largest brokerage houses sent all its branches and customers throughout the United States the following urgent message:

"This is a telegraph warning bulletin. Halt all stock buying immediately. Remain on full alert until further notice."

The year's largest advance began that day—and is still under way. The prices hit a new 1967 peak September 18.

The business slump during the past 11 months has been what you might call a "mini recession." It it still with us. Wars and the stock market, however, have something in common. The change in the direction it is going can take place long before this is apparent.

The blue-chip, bellwether stocks are related to confidence—the confidence of sober investment money. Usually they do not advance steadily until economic fundamentals seem less uncertain on the discouraging side and have started to clarify enough to promise prolonged improvement. But the inflationary pressures have been building steadily—and relentlessly—during every month that the market has been going down.

Since last October the government has literally opened the floodgates of money and credit. The money supply has increased at a 9 per cent annual rate. This is more than double the 4 per cent rate of increase from 1964 to 1966. And, remember, we're talking about billions piled onto billions—paper money, paper credit, paper values.

Since January commercial bank time deposits have rushed up at an annual rate of 17 per cent. Total commercial bank loans and investments have zoomed at the annual rate of 13 per cent. This is nearly twice the largest prior (1965) increase. And since May personal incomes have climbed at the annual rate of 9 per cent. Folks, that's what's called inflationary pressure. And the chief generator is the galloping government debt.

Deficit financing—a government borrowing to spend more than its income—means debt, inflation and an unsound money. As a government continues to spend beyond its income and borrows more and more to pay its bills the dangers multiply. For its borrowings from banks create more and more credit, increase the money supply (as shown) and help create inflation.

The effect is simply to dollar-depreciate the economy. Our dollars are turned into dollarettes. And as currency values fall they follow the rule of physical bodies—they accelerate.

The process has put our living costs at an all-time high at this moment and our gold reserve to another new 29-year low. But in this process governments themselves never—never—go bankrupt. They just print more and more money and bonds, which are the governments' interest-bearing promises of future payment, the governments' IOUs.

The New Frontier-"Great Society" administrations inherited a federal debt of $283 billion. Between them, Presidents Kennedy and Johnson lifted the "temporary" legal limit five times. On February 8 Mr. Johnson asked the House to raise the limit from $330 billion to $336, and make it "permanent."

As one result the interest we must pay on Washington's IOUs has grown to be the second largest item ($14.1 billion) in the federal budget. Washington borrows—we pay.

During the first half of this year the Washington Robin Hoods of the Red Ink ran up a deficit at the annual rate of $13 billion. It is a fact, although a hardly known one, that at no time previously since the Korean War has the federal budget on a national-income-accounts basis been actually in deficit under virtually full-employment conditions. This year is the first time. Millions even hold two jobs. Actually, the Labor Department finds that we have twice as many people earning at two jobs as there are people not working.

All this—and all in this year—is the main shaping-force behind the stock tiger's new leap.

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THINK, BABY, THINK—"It was bound to happen. An enterprising American publisher is bringing out a red-covered book titled 'Thoughts of Chairman Johnson.' Publishing industry sources report that if the book catches on, we can expect it to be followed by 'Thoughts of Robert McNamara' or 'Thoughts of Ronald Reagan.' And, we might speculate, 'Thoughts of Gov. Romney.' In loose leaf."—From the Omaha *Evening World-Herald*

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AFL-CIO President George Meany (left), a firm anti-Communist, is under fire from far-left elements in the labor movement, some of which may have the tacit support of United Auto Workers head Walter Reuther.

Chicago Conference Set

Labor Joins the 'New Left'

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

When the National Conference for New Politics was making its grotesque noises in Chicago, the pundits laughed quietly and predicted that this marked the end of the New Left. For the conference was not a casual or spontaneous meeting of kooks, extremists and "Black Power" activists.

It had been carefully planned by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, which is part of the Fund for the Republic; by the tough motivating forces in the "Black Power" movement, by Moscow-directed Communists, and by the United Auto Workers. The financing had come from some innocents, but there had also been a UAW contribution, part of Walter Reuther's drive to create a "union of the poor."

The first result of the Chicago conference as this column has reported was the call for a 200,000-man assault on the Pentagon in which trained activists would attempt to provoke bloodshed. But the planners of the conference, who met secretly and talked revolution in terms reminiscent of the Leningrad uprising in 1917, had much more in mind. Their aim is not only to foster unrest in the United States but to throw as many roadblocks as possible in the path of those seeking victory for American arms in Viet Nam.

The Chicago conference displayed the beatnik, or disreputable, face of the New Left politics. But on November 11 the "respectable" face will be presented to the nation. For two days, at the Center for Continuing Education of the University of Chicago, leaders of far-left trade unions will convene to belabor President Johnson, to tar and feather the United States, and to call for withdrawal in Viet Nam.

The leaders who gather there will, in the majority, represent those elements that were able to re-infiltrate the labor movement after they were expelled from the CIO in 1949 for cleaving too closely to the party line. But they will be able to hide behind the facade set up by Emil Mazey, secretary-treasurer of the United Auto Workers union. Mr. Mazey is very close indeed to Walter Reuther and he would not be signing the call to the Armistice Day meeting without the knowledge and encouragement of his boss.

Also signing the call are Frank Rosenblum, secretary-tresurer of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union. The Amalgamated, it will be recalled, was the mainstay, years ago, of the American Labor party when it was virtually an arm of the Communist movement. Its leader then was Sidney Hillman, of "clear it with Sidney" fame.

Patrick A. Gorman, whose views were made clear when he expostulated that "we should get the hell out of Viet Nam," is another of the key signers. He is secretary-treasurer of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workers, a union that has distinguished itself in recent years by its undeviating support of the far-left line.

The November 11 meeting is being given the innocuous name of the National Labor Leadership Assembly for Peace, and its host is the so-called Trade Union Division of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy. Mr. Rosenblum, in announcing his participation, showed precisely what kind of fair trial the Vietnamese struggle will get before the assembly pulls the trap on the gallows. "We are conducting one of the most brutal wars in history," he says, conveniently forgetting the mass atrocities of the Soviet Union in Poland during World War II.

But like all such propaganda sallies, the assembly has more fish to fry than the Johnson Administration's Vietnamese policies. The three unions prominently represented hope to use the meeting as a sounding board for an all-out attack on President George Meany and the AFL-CIO's governing body.

Mr. Reuther withdrew some time ago as a vice president, in opposition to Mr. Meany's views. While they remain in power, Mr. Reuther can give up all hope of becoming president of the AFL-CIO and labor czar in America.

All the war—and stalking—horses of the extreme left will be on hand in Chicago to celebrate Armistice Day in their own particular way. The secretaries-general sponsoring the sorry affair will want as big a turnout as possible. But by the very nature of the support being given, quietly so far, to the assembly, this will only expose the motives of those who seek to reverse America's foreign policy and to surrender Southeast Asia to the Reds.

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PRO-G. I.— "A friend of ours who bought a car for his son, a soldier, was told by his insurance company that they don't insure servicemen. He told them to cancel his policy, too."—By Don Maclean in the Washington *Daily News*

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Bobby Silent as Aides Organize 'Dump-LBJ' Movement

By VICTOR RIESEL

In a series of eyeball-to-eyeball private conversations, Bobby Kennedy has told occasional visitors, including myself and a sophisticated labor type or two, that whatever his critics think of him, they don't think him "stupid." And that it would be sheer stupidity—of the kind in which the Kennedys don't specialize—to buck Lyndon Johnson in '68.

In that flat, somewhat staccato fashion of his, the senator says that the labor people in particular should know better than to believe he would seek the '68 nomination or that he would take it if he could get it. Such action would rip the Democratic party apart.

Yet at this minute, here in New York City his own lieutenants are launching a dump-Johnson drive. These are men who are more than torchbearers of the Kennedy cult. They are men who are considered by knowledgeable labor strategists and leaders of both parties to be his personal whips in state politics.

They are men, according to the lore here, who would not lift a phone on

U.N. Ambassador Arthur Goldberg also doubles as a trouble-shooter for the Johnson forces.

a vital mission unless it were cleared by the anonymously brilliant infighter, Bobby's brother-in-law Steve Smith. Typical are two reform Democrats—State Assemblymen Jerome Kretchmer and Albert H. Blumenthal. They are gleaming hot pistons in the junk-Johnson machine. They are men whose joint office was just down the hall from Steve Smith's 42nd Street headquarters during Bobby Kennedy's 1964 campaign for the Senate. You just walked along a second floor corridor, passed the door of Kretchmer and Blumenthal, and reached Steve Smith's sanctum. There was a similar arrangement—in a hotel headquarters—during the famous Kennedy drive to smash Tammany Hall by defeating its candidate for surrogate some years ago.

So it is not likely that men such as Kretchmer and Blumenthal would—without Bobby Kennedy's or Steve Smith's permission—spark a dump-Johnson caucus as they did the other night.

This adds up to quite a puzzlement for the Johnson forces here—a coalition of labor leaders, party regulars and Ambassador Arthur Goldberg. What, they ask therefore, does Bobby Kennedy really want?

They believe he positively does not want the nomination in '68. They know he will stay "regular." They are positive he will not lead a floor fight against Mr. Johnson, nor will he back the drive in New York for an anti-Johnson delegation to the nominating convention.

Any fight against President Johnson would cost Kennedy all chances of labor support for many an election to come. Let no one make any mistake about the significance of such a loss. The AFL-CIO Committee on Political Education (COPE) is the nation's best organized, most far-flung, sagely scientific political machinery. Without COPE, its money, manpower and interlocked media, no Democratic presidential candidate could unleash a successful campaign.

Sen. Kennedy knows this. For some two years now he has tried to build labor strength here. But despite the charm and intensity of his labor specialist, Tim Hogan, Bobby still gets the freeze.

There are, of course, other forces which would fragment the party if Kennedy maneuvered for the nomination. He won't. Not until 1972.

So to fight Hubert Humphrey for the nomination would mean hitting a mighty muscled labor line —and bouncing off. If labor goes, so would hundreds of congressional candidates and precinct people who line up for labor support each election year.

Why then are his people unleashing Operation Dump Johnson?

Among political insiders the belief is that the dump-Johnson movement is not designed to keep the President from being renominated—but to defeat him. They could so splinter the New York liberal-labor Democratic coalition that the President could lose New York. Without the Empire State—and without California, which seems inevitable—the "ticket" would lose, reckon the movement's "reform" leaders.

RFK's brother-in-law Steve Smith is one of the top aides in the Kennedy political hierarchy.

Then everybody would regroup around Bobby Kennedy in '69, launch a "save-the-party" campaign, and take it over in the '70 gubernatorial and congressional elections right across the nation. And no one, not even the labor movement, could buck Bobby for the '72 nomination.

It's all long-range. But it is as immediate as the recent caucus here.

But insiders see Mr. Johnson moving, too. His field commander, some say, is the ambassador who roves across many fields—Arthur Goldberg. In coming weeks Mr. Goldberg will speak at the enormously prestigious Alfred E. Smith Memorial Foundation Annual Banquet which is sponsored by His Eminence, Cardinal Spellman. In quick succession Goldberg will also talk at the Liberal party forum, the Jewish Labor Committee convention and the Four Freedoms award dinner, just to mention a few events of the next few weeks.

If it is necessary to bolster the Johnson-Humphrey slate, the President will not hesitate to ask "Arthur" to run for the U.S. Senate against Sen. Jack Javits. Of course, Bobby Kennedy would have to back such a ticket. And actively, too. So the President is also playing some smart political chess.

Ambassador Goldberg is labor's pride and joy. They'd go for broke for him, as well as the President. And probably elect him, too, and thus save the state in '68 for Lyndon Johnson.

So perhaps the strategic sense of the pro-Kennedy forces isn't as long-range as their ambitions.

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When the Administration Discusses Viet Nam

"Actions taken [in Viet Nam] have proved effective and will prove more effective as time goes on."
—Secretary Robert McNamara, Jan. 17, 1962

"By every quantitative measure we are winning the war in Viet Nam."
—McNamara, February 1962

" . . . there is no plan for introducing Americans in combat in South Viet Nam."
—McNamara, March 22, 1962

"Progress in the last eight to 10 weeks has been great. . . . The government has asked only for logistical support. . . . Nothing but progress and hopeful indications of further progress in the future."
—McNamara, May 12, 1962

"Our military assistance to Viet Nam is paying off. I continue to be encouraged. There are many signs indicating progress."
—McNamara, July 25, 1962

"There is a new feeling of confidence that victory is possible in South Viet Nam. . . . The corner has been turned."
—McNamara, Jan. 31, 1963

"There are some definitely encouraging elements. The ratio of casualties between government and Viet Cong forces, the ratio of arms captured or lost between the two sides, the steady extension of the strategic hamlet program, the increasingly effective work of the Montagnards along the border areas—all those indicate some turning in the situation."
—Secretary Dean Rusk, Feb. 1, 1963

"The momentum of the Communist drive has been stopped."
—Rusk, Feb. 13, 1963

"The South Vietnamese themselves are fighting their own battle, fighting well."
—Rusk, April 18, 1963

"There is a good basis for encouragement. The Vietnamese are on their way to success and need our help; not just our material help—they need that—but our sympathetic understanding and comradeship."
—Rusk, April 22, 1963

"Secretary McNamara and Gen. [Maxwell] Taylor reported their judgment that the major part of the U.S. military task can be completed by the end of 1965, although there may be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S.-trained personnel."
—President Johnson, Oct. 2, 1963

"We believe that the present [Saigon] regime has moved promptly to consolidated public effort, that they will be able to resolve some of the internal difficulties that grew up, and that there will be a possibility that the people of that country will move in greater unity on behalf of the total effort."
—Rusk, Nov. 8, 1963

" . . . Small numbers of the U.S. personnel will be able to return by the end of this year."
—McNamara, Nov. 19, 1963

"We have every reason to believe that [U.S. military] plans will be successful in 1964."
—McNamara, Dec. 12, 1963

"With these further measures, we felt that a start could be made in reducing the number of U.S. military personnel in Viet Nam as their training missions were completed. Accordingly, we announced that about 1,000 men were to be withdrawn by the end of 1963, and expressed the hope that the major part of the U.S. military task could be completed by the end of 1965, although we recognized that there might be a continuing requirement for a limited number of U.S. advisory personnel."
—McNamara, Jan. 30, 1964

"I am hopeful we can bring back additional numbers of men. I say this because I personally believe this is a war the Vietnamese must fight. . . . I don't believe we can take on that combat task for them."
—McNamara, Feb. 3, 1964

"I don't believe that we as a nation should assume the primary responsibility for the war in South Viet Nam. It is a counter-guerrilla war, it is a war that can only be won by the Vietnamese themselves. Our responsibility is not to substitute ourselves for the Vietnamese, but to train them to carry on the operations that they themselves are capable of. . . . I don't believe tnat pouring in hundreds of thousands of troops is the solution."
—McNamara, Feb. 19, 1964

"I think the resources and capabilities are there to get this job done on the present basis of assistance to the Vietnamese so that they themselves can handle this problem primarily with their own effort."
—Rusk, Feb. 24, 1964

" . . . the situation can be significantly improved in coming months."
—McNamara, March 17, 1964

"The road ahead in Viet Nam is going to be long, difficult and frustrating."
—McNamara, March 26, 1964

" . . . the training personnel we have assigned there will come back as their training mission is completed—perhaps some can return this year; some next."
—McNamara, March 29, 1964

"We are confident these plans point the way to victory."
—McNamara, March, 1964

"I think on balance the number [of U.S. military personnel needed in Viet Nam] is not likely to increase substantially."
—McNamara, May 14, 1964

"I don't object to it being called 'McNamara's War.' I think it is a very important war and I am pleased to be identified with it."
—McNamara, April 24, 1964

"I think they [the Viet Cong] have very serious problems—not only in fact, in terms of losses, disruptions, but in terms of morale. So I am not pessimistic about the situation."
—Rusk, July 1, 1964

"We don't want our American boys to do the fighting for Asian boys . . . to get tied down in a land war in Asia."
—President Johnson, Sept. 25, 1964

"The most vital impression I'm bringing back [from Viet Nam] is that we've stopped losing the war. . . . I must say I was surprised by the intensity and scale of their [the Viet Cong] attacks."
—McNamara, Nov. 30, 1965

"It will be a long war."
—McNamara, Dec. 1, 1965

"Approximately 235,000 [U.S. troops in Viet Nam] are needed."
—McNamara, March 2, 1966

"Aw, come on. What does someone in New York care about the war in Viet Nam?"
—Assistant Secretary of Defense Arthur Sylvester, May 12, 1966

"The crisis of credibility has gotten so out of hand that we don't believe our own leaks."
—Press Secretary Bill Moyers, Aug. 21, 1966

"We are beginning to see some signs of success of this strategy. The Viet Cong monsoon offensive, which we know from captured documents it was their intention to carry out during the period of May to October, has not materialized because of [General] Westmoreland's tactics of carrying out spoiling operations based on intelligence he has received as to concentrations of Viet Cong. . . . The number of defections this year has doubled compared to the past year. No doubt this is a sign of erosion of morale."
—Rusk, Aug. 25, 1966

"I know of no plans to increase the forces in Viet Nam after the congressional elections."
—McNamara, Oct. 14, 1966

"I do believe that one basis for optimism is that the other side must surely now understand that they are not going to succeed in seizing South Viet Nam by force."
—Rusk, Jan. 1, 1967

"I think we have seen some very favorable signs that we are making headway on the military side, but that does not mean that the war is just about over. . . . I must say that I have been impressed by the doubling of the rate of defectors from the other side."
—Rusk, April 16, 1967

"During the past year tremendous progress has been made. . . . We have pushed the enemy farther and farther back into the jungles. . . . The [South Viet Nam] troops are fighting much better than they were a year ago. . . . The number of defectors coming into the government has substantially increased. The ratio of enemy personnel killed to those killed by the enemy continues to increase. . . . It has doubled during the past year. . . . We have succeeded in attaining our objectives. . . . The enemy has not won a single, significant victory during the past year, despite the tremendous effort that he has put forth."
—Gen. William Westmoreland, July 13, 1967

"Suffice it for me to say that we are generally pleased with the progress we have made militarily. We are very sure that we are on the right track."
—President Johnson, July 13, 1967

"The other side is hurting, and they are hurting very badly."
—Rusk, July 19, 1967

"[Since last October] substantial progress has been made in the political, economic and military area."
—McNamara, July 21, 1967

And finally—

"The people who sent us here are patient, but they are not docile. Our national spirit and unity are not expendable. The public confidence cannot be taken for granted eternally. I tell you—and I say this carefully—the clamor of public irritation and impatience cannot be brushed aside like a bothersome fly and the flip and snobbish judgment that the public is not informed. . . . The American people have not lost faith in themselves or in their democratic institutions, but the American people are tired of and they are fed up with doubletalk in Washington."
—Sen. Lyndon B. Johnson, Dec. 12, 1950, in a Senate speech on the Korean War

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Harry Ashmore (left) and William C. Baggs, members of the Fund for the Republic's board of directors, claimed LBJ sabotaged their "peace efforts" resulting from their trip to Hanoi.

Who's Not in Politics?

Harry Ashmore's charges make joke of tax-exemption for his study center

By ALICE WIDENER

John Denson, top newspaper and magazine editor, tells reporters who write true stories that are publicly denied, "Just wait, they'll be coming round the bushes another day."

Three years ago I wrote a true story about how the Fund for the Republic's Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions at Santa Barbara, Calif., tries to interfere in U.S. government affairs and influence them politically at the top of the Washington ladder, activities flagrantly out of line for a tax-exempt organization.

Mr. Harry S. Ashmore, chairman of the Center's executive committee, wrote a scathing letter of denial to me, attacking my accuracy, picked out the Columbus (Ohio) *Dispatch* as a target, and sent a copy of the letter to editor Dayle Frazier Sr. He and all my client papers stood by me, having confidence in my professional integrity.

Now, at long last, Mr. Ashmore has come round the bushes, along with William C. Baggs, fellow member of the Fund for the Republic's board of directors, in a wild charge against the President of the United States who, Mr. Ashmore alleges wrongly and with consummate gall, had the temerity to foul up their—Mr. Ashmore's and Mr. Baggs' —efforts for peace with the Communist government of North Viet Nam.

It turns out, moreover—as Ashmore comes running round the bushes—that he not only penetrated into the State Department at the highest levels but also cooperated in his political activities with Sen. J. William Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and longtime fellow traveler with the Fund for the Republic clique.

My, oh, my, what a hassle and revelation! Of course, Messrs. Ashmore and Baggs can follow the Fund's standard operating procedure and deny that their action in going to Hanoi last January had anything at all to do with the Fund for the Republic and its left-wing Center at Santa Barbara. These gentlemen are virtuosos at changing hats so fast that now you see it now you don't. But if you look hard and long, as I have, at the Fund for the Republic and Center personnel, you really can see what they are up to.

As well as interfering in national foreign policy at the highest level, they are meddling with a leftist hand in our nation's domestic affairs. The radical leftist National Conference for New Politics was born at the Santa Barbara Center in August 1965, where a group of radicals, including Stokely Carmichael, hatched the plans for the dangerously revolutionary political shenanigans called "New Politics." Lately, the Fund for the Republic's Center has been hatching more and worse.

Under the headline "University Destruction," Tom O'Brien, staff writer for the Santa Barbara *News-Press*, reported Aug. 24, 1967, "A master plan of how best to destroy the American university system as it is today seemed to be the goal as a conference of militant student leaders and ex-students opened yesterday at the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions here. The participants were described by the Center as all having been prominent in demonstrations and movements within their own colleges and universities."

O'Brien reported, "Devereaux Kennedy, student body president at Washington University, St. Louis, Mo., called for outright revolution and the overthrow of the United States government. He advocated terrorism on such a scale that it would 'demoralize and castrate America.'"

How can a tax-exempt instituion be permitted to play host to such a political group? How can the directors of the tax-exempt Fund for the Republic, and specifically Harry S. Ashmore, deny that the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions is a political organization, not just a study group?

John Denson certainly is right. Eventually, the truth comes out of the bushes! I'm glad it always does, not just for my own sake as a reporter, but for America's.

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Aftermath of Riots

Thousands of Weapons Missing

From the Allen-Scott Report

Those summer riots left several of the large U.S. cities loaded with hidden guns.

Thousands of weapons, including hundreds of rifles, stolen during or since the rioting have not been recovered by local law enforcement authorities. Many of these weapons are believed to be in the possession of dangerous militants.

One of the most explosive situations appears to be in Detroit.

Police officials in that racial-tense city have informed congressional probers that nearly all of the 2,700 guns stolen during the violent rioting there are still missing.

Another 400 weapons, including 150 rifles, are unaccounted for in that city. These guns were taken from a sporting goods store after revolutionary leader H. Rap Brown made a post-riot speech urging militant Negroes in Detroit to "go get a gun . . . arm yourself for the troubled days ahead."

That's the alarming information gathered by investigators of Sen. John McClellan's Permanent Investigating subcommittee now probing the causes behind this summer's racial violence.

The McClellan subcommittee, which plans to hold hearings in October in Detroit and Newark, has received similar disturbing warnings from police authorities in the latter city.

The Newark law enforcement officials have revealed that less than 100 of the 1,000 guns stolen during the rioting there have been recovered despite intensive searching.

The controversial house-to-house search by New Jersey National Guardsmen, they reported, accounted for the recovery of 60 of the stolen weapons.

Police in Detroit found 40 stolen weapons among the 263 guns taken from persons arrested during the five days of rioting there. Significantly, many of the weapons taken from or found near the 22 persons arrested for sniping were stolen guns. Other stolen weapons were discovered on several of the 26 persons charged with inciting to riot.

Similarly, police authorities of other riot-hit cities report hundreds of guns still missing, including several high-powered rifles, stolen during racial disturbances in Los Angeles, Cleveland, Cincinnati, Buffalo and Grand Rapids.

Statistics gathered by a Senate Judiciary subcommittee reveal that the job of the firefighter in recent civil disorders has been far more hazardous than the policeman's.

In 11 riots investigated by the senators firemen suffered 438 casualties, including six deaths. Less than half that number of policemen were injured or killed.

According to the subcommittee's unpublished findings, the largest number of casualties among firemen occurred during riots in Los Angeles, 183; Detroit, 83; Newark, 35; Rochester, N.Y., 25, and New York, 24. Of the six firemen killed, three were shot by snipers.

Cleveland authorities have furnished the subcommittee with evidence that snipers have tried dozens of times to bushwhack firemen in that city since last year's racial disturbances.

The snipers set up their ambushes by turning in false alarms, then lay in wait for the firemen to arrive on the scene. Fourteen firemen have been injured by snipers. As many as 30 false alarms a day have been credited to suspected snipers.

Sen. James Eastland (D.-Miss.), chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, is planning legislation to protect these unarmed firefighters.

When his committee considers the House-passed riot-control bill later this month, Sen. Eastland will tack an amendment onto the bill making it a federal offense for a person to interfere with a fireman while on duty.

The AFL-CIO Fire Fighters Union has cited the need for such an amendment, pointing out that since the riots occurred no persons shooting at or injuring firemen have been arrested or convicted.

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California Test Case

Will Court Hold 'Right to Work' As a Constitutional Right?

By JAMES JACKSON KILPATRICK

It passed almost unnoticed in the news, but one of the year's most significant cases in the developing law of "human rights" was filed on September 22 in California. The lawsuit has been carefully drawn to present a question that ultimately the Supreme Court must answer: Is the right to work, without being compelled to join a labor union, a constitutional right?

Twice in recent years, opponents of compulsory unionism have attempted to make the court stand up to the question. Each time the court ducked. In the second of these cases, in 1961, Mr. Justice Black objected vehemently to his brothers' refusal to face the issue squarely. "The constitutional question," he said, "is bound to come back here soon with a record so meticulously perfect that the court cannot escape deciding it."

Precisely such an effort now has been launched by 24 rank-and-file employes of the McDonnell-Douglas Corp. Under the company's contract with the International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers (IAM), these workers are compelled to join the union, and pay dues and assessments to it, in order to hold their jobs.

The employes' suit, filed in a Federal District Court, is predicated entirely upon constitutional grounds. The plaintiffs contend that the compulsory union shop deprives them of civil rights guaranteed by the 1st, 5th and 9th Amendments of the Constitution.

What they are seeking to establish is that man's essential freedoms work in two ways: The right to speak is accompanied by a right to remain silent; the right to assemble embraces a right to stay away; the right to vote carries with it a right not to vote. And in the immediate case, involving membership in a labor union, the right to join must be balanced by a right not to join.

On any other basis, it will be argued, freedoms are meaningless. If a man must speak, his right of "free speech" is a hollow right, for the essence of freedom is a freedom to choose. A citizen's choice of a job cannot be made to depend upon the surrender of his right not to associate. When he is compelled to associate, and compelled to pay union dues against his will, the first principles of constitutional freedom are violated.

If the California suit can be kept within these tight constitutional channels, the Supreme Court may well uphold the workers' position and thus kill the union shop. Justices Black and Douglas have made it clear that they will cast their votes against compulsory unionism. Other members of the court recently have joined in developing a new "right of privacy" which protects, quite simply, man's right to be let alone.

The McDonnell-Douglas workers doubtless will rely in part upon the landmark case of *Connecticut vs. Griswold* in 1964. This was the famous birth control case, in which a majority of the court threw out Connecticut's law against the use of contraceptives. Obviously, there was nothing in the Constitution directly in point. But Mr. Justice Goldberg, speaking also for Chief Justice Warren and for Mr. Justice Brennan, went to the forgotten 9th Amendment.

"The concept of liberty protects those personal rights that are fundamental, and is not confined to the specific terms of the Bill of Rights . . . The language and history of the 9th Amendment reveals that the framers of the Constitution believed that there are additional fundamental rights protected from governmental infringement."

If a man's right to work is not a "fundamental right," it may be asked, what is? As far back as 1915, Charles Evans Hughes spoke for the court in voiding a state law denying foreign-born residents a right to work on equal terms with native citizens. The right to work, said Hughes, "is of the very essence of the personal freedom and opportunity that it was the purpose of the 14th Amendment to secure." Under the stranglehold of the union shop, Hughes' sound doctrine has become moribund. The California case may yet breathe it back to life.

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2. Mail subscriptions	94,810	97,927
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E. Total distribution	101,525	104,042
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SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

Leadership Needed

By REP. GEORGE HANSEN (R.-Idaho)

Russia has again shown that it not only has absolutely no desire to help end the war in Viet Nam as requested by the United States, but that it has not changed one bit. Just recently in the United Nations we again asked Russia, in good faith, for her help in ending the conflict. But instead of help, we received a slap in the face. It is regrettable that our weak-kneed State Department can only "regret" the Soviet decision to increase its arms aid to our enemies. Russia's decision to step up this aid makes it clear to all who will see it that Russia continues, without question, to be the world's most dangerous dealer in death and destruction. We should demand that she stop supplying North Viet Nam with the means to kill American boys and to prolong this war of aggression.

Continuing to hide our heads in the sand will not alter Russia's goals, although many appear to be still hopeful that it will. More than ever before we are in urgent need of leadership —leadership that will restore to our people a sense of unity and direction and which will demonstrate to our enemies our solidarity of purpose, thus preventing them from dangerously misunderstanding and miscalculating our intent in foreign affairs.

Post Office Failures

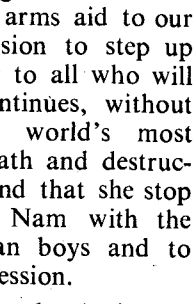
By REP. JOHN T. MYERS (R.-Ind.)

There are thousands of dedicated, conscientious employes in the postal system, but management has not provided the direction necessary for the type of mail service this country needs and demands. Moreover, the ever-increasing number of complaints, misdeliveries, non-deliveries, delays and backups are a clear warning that even more serious trouble lies ahead unless corrective steps are taken. As long as the department remains a politically dominated agency where appointments and all promotions, from postmaster to carrier, are based on political favoritism rather than merit, postal experience and good management procedures, a first-class postal system cannot be developed and maintained.

Financing Campaigns

By SEN. KARL MUNDT (R.-S.D.)

On the heels of Senate approval of a worthwhile revision of the Corrupt Practices Act of 1925, involving reporting requirements for expenditures in political campaigns, the Senate was handed another election bill. The first bill tightens requirements on disclosure of campaign funds and extends reporting requirements to primary elections. The measure is termed by the authoritative *Congressional Quarterly* as "the most comprehensive campaign funds control and disclosure measure ever to pass" the Senate. The second bill, due to come up for Senate consideration later, is also "most comprehensive." The comparison ends there. One bill tightens controls, but the other would unlock the public purse by making available huge amounts from the federal treasury to finance not only presidential election campaigns but senatorial campaigns as well.



It is in the best interest of our system of government that campaign financing be provided from as broad a public base as possible. But the decision on campaign contributions should —and must—remain with the individual citizen. Under this bill, all taxpayers would foot campaign bills. In addition to placing an unneeded extra expenditure upon the government, I think it is completely outrageous for politicians to assume that the right to run for office requires the people to involuntarily finance these campaigns. And most ridiculous is the fact that under this bill, it means the people, in financing campaigns with public funds, would not only be supporting candidates of their choice but contributing to the candidates they'd like to defeat!

Hard-Pressed Farmers

By REP. W. R. POAGE (D.-Tex.)

The congestion and trouble in our cities, in my view, can be traced in large measure to the fact that we do not pay farmers enough for what they produce. There simply isn't enough income in the rural areas, and in our Main Street towns that service the rural economy, to hold the people there. They are moving to the cities. . . . Farmers in some areas . . . now are desperately in need of labor. But these farmers are so hard pressed they are not able to pay wages that will attract workers off the relief rolls in the cities. . . . Unless we can find a way to pay fair prices for the production of food, we are headed for a corporate-type, conglomerate agriculture that will dump thousands upon thousands of more rural people into the cities, already beset by riots bordering upon insurrection.

Rent Supplements Rollcall

Following is the 59-to-31 rollcall vote by which the Senate on September 20 approved the full $40-million rent supplement appropriation which the House of Representatives had earlier turned down. The issue is now awaiting joint Senate-House conference committee action.

FOR THE AMOUNT: 59

DEMOCRATS (42): Anderson, Bartlett, Bayh, Burdick, Church, Clark, Dodd, Ellender, Fulbright, Gruening, Harris, Hart, Hartke, Inouye, Jackson, Kennedy (Mass.), Kennedy (N.Y.), Long (Mo.), Long (La.), Magnuson, Mansfield, McCarthy, McGee, McGovern, McIntyre, Metcalf, Mondale, Monroney, Montoya, Morse, Moss, Muskie, Nelson, Pastore, Pell, Proxmire, Randolph, Ribicoff, Sparkman, Tydings, Yarborough and Young (Ohio).

REPUBLICANS (17): Aiken, Boggs, Brooke, Case, Cooper, Dirksen, Fong, Griffin, Javits, Miller, Morton, Murphy, Pearson, Percy, Prouty, Scott and Smith.

AGAINST THE AMOUNT: 31

DEMOCRATS (17): Bible, Byrd (Va.), Byrd (W. Va.), Cannon, Eastland, Ervin, Gore, Hill, Holland, Hollings, Jordan (N.C.), Lausche, McClellan, Russell, Spong, Stennis and Talmadge.

REPUBLICANS (14): Allott, Baker, Bennett, Carlson, Cotton, Curtis, Fannin, Hickenlooper, Hruska, Jordan (Idaho), Mundt, Thurmond, Williams (Del.) and Young (N.D.).

Paired for the appropriation: Brewster (D), Hatfield (R) and Kuchel (R).

Paired against the appropriation: Tower (R), Dominick (R) and Hansen (R).

House Flip-Flops on 'Rat Bill,' 227-173

Following is the 227-to-173 rollcall vote by which the House of Representatives on September 20 reversed itself and approved a $40-million "rat control" amendment to the Partnership for Health Amendments of 1967. An asterisk following a member's name indicates that the congressman changed his vote from his previous stand on July 20 when the House refused to call up the "rat bill" by a 207-to-176 rollcall vote. Forty-five Republicans and six Democrats switched from opposition to support of the measure.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 159

Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Annunzio, Ashley, Barrett, Bingham, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brasco, Brooks, Brown (Calif.), Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Carey, Casey*, Celler, Clark, Cohelan, Culver, Daddario, Daniels, Dawson, de la Garza, Delaney, Dent, Diggs, Dingell*, Donohue, Dow, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edmondson, Edwards (Calif.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Evins (Tenn.), Fallon, Farbstein, Fascell*, Flood, Foley, Ford, Wm. Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Gallagher, Gia mo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Gray, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hamilton, Hanley, Hanna, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hawkins, Hechler (W.Va.), Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Howard, Hungate, Jacobs, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Karsten, Karth, Kastenmeier, Kazen, Kee, Kelly, King (Calif.), Kirwan, Kluczynski, Kyros, Leggett, Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, Macdonald (Mass.), Machen, Madden, Mahon*, Matsunaga, Meeds, Miller (Calif.), Minish, Mink, Monagan, Moorhead, Morgan, Morris (N.M.), Moss, Multer, Murphy (Ill.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), Olsen, O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Price (Ill.), Randall, Rees, Resnick, Reuss, Rhodes (Pa.), Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roush, Roybal, St Germain, St. Onge, Scheuer, Shipley, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Stephens, Stratton*, Stubblefield, Sullivan, Thompson (N.J.), Tiernan, Udall, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Virgorito, Waldie, Walker, Wilson, Charles, Wright*, Yates, Young, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS FOR: 68

Anderson (Ill.)*, Ayres, Bell*, Biester*, Brown (Mich.)*, Bush*, Button*, Cahill, Carter, Chamberlain*, Cleveland*, Conable*, Corbett*, Cowger*, Cunningham*, Dellenback*, Derwinski*, Dwyer, Esch, Fino, Frelinghuysen*, Fulton (Pa.)*, Goodell, Grover*, Gubser*, Gude, Halpern, Harrison*, Harvey*, Heckler (Mass.)*, Horton, Kupferman, Laird*, Latta*, McClory*, McDade, MacGregor*, Mailliard*, Mathias (Md.), Meskill*, Moore, Morse (Mass.)*, Morton*, Mosher, Pelly*, Pirnie*, Quie*, Railsback*, Reid (N.Y.), Riegle, Robison*, Roth*, Rumsfeld*, Ruppe*, Saylor, Schweiker, Schwengel*, Smith (N.Y.)*, Stafford*, Stanton*, Steiger (Wis.)*, Taft*, Thompson (Ga.)*, Vander Jagt, Whalen, Widnall, Wydler, Wyman*

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 63

Abbitt, Abernethy, Andrews (Ala.), Ashmore, Bennett, Bevill, Blanton, Burleson, Cabell, Colmer, Davis (Ga.), Dowdy, Downing*, Edwards (La.)*, Everett, Fisher, Flynt, Fuqua, Galifianakis*, Gathings, Gettys*, Hagan, Haley, Hardy*, Henderson, Herlong, Hull, Ichord, Jarman, Jones (Ala.), Jones (Mo.), Jones (N.C.)*, Kornegay, Landrum*, Lennon, Long (La.), McMillan, Marsh, Mills, Montgomery, Nichols, O'Neal (Ga.), Passman, Pool, Pryor, Purcell, Rivers*, Roberts, Rogers (Fla.), Satterfield, Selden, Sikes, Steed, Stuckey, Taylor, Teague (Tex.), Tuck, Waggonner, Watts, White, Whitener, Whitten, Williams (Miss.)

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 110

Adair, Andrews (N.D.), Arends, Ashbrook, Bates, Battin, Berry, Betts, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Brotzman, Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Byrnes (Wis.), Cederberg, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Collier, Cramer, Curtis, Davis (Wis.), Denney, Devine, Dickinson, Dole, Duncan, Edwards (Ala.), Erlenborn, Eshleman, Findley, Ford, Gerald, Gardner, Goodling, Gross, Gurney, Hall, Halleck, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harsha, Hosmer, Hunt, Hutchinson, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, Keith, King (N.Y.), Kleppe, Kuykendall, Kyl, Langen, Lipscomb, Lloyd, Lukens, McClure, McDonald (Mich.), McEwen, Martin, Mathias (Calif.), May, Mayne, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Minshall, Mize, Myers, Nelsen, O'Konski, Pettis, Poff, Pollock, Price (Tex.), Quillen, Reid (Ill.), Reifel, Reinecke, Rhodes (Ariz.), Roudebush, Sandman, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Scott, Shriver, Skubitz, Smith (Calif.), Smith (Okla.), Snyder, Springer, Steiger (Ariz.), Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thomson (Wis.), Wampler, Watkins, Watson, Whalley, Wiggins, Williams (Pa.), Wilson, Bob, Winn, Wylie, Zion, Zwach

NOT VOTING: 31

Bid to Ban Educational TV Fails

Below is the crucial 167-to-194 rollcall vote on the Public Broadcasting Act of 1967 by which the House on September 21 rejected an amendment which would have denied authorization for the presidentially controlled Public Broadcasting Corp. A "nay" vote supports the Administration. The final bill was later passed by a vote of 265 to 91.

DEMOCRATS FOR: 43

Abbitt, Abernethy, Andrews (Ala.), Ashmore, Burleson, Cabell, Casey, Colmer, Dowdy, Downing, Fisher, Flynt, Gathings, Hagan, Haley, Hardy, Henderson, Hull, Jones (Mo.), Jones (N.C.), Landrum, Lennon, McMillan, Marsh, Nichols, O'Neal (Ga.), Passman, Pool, Randall, Rivers, Satterfield, Selden, Sikes, Stuckey, Taylor, Teague (Tex.), Tuck, Waggonner, Watts, White, Whitener, Whitten, Williams (Miss.)

REPUBLICANS FOR: 124

Adair, Arends, Ashbrook, Ayres, Battin, Bell, Berry, Betts, Biester, Bolton, Bow, Bray, Brock, Brown (Ohio), Broyhill (N.C.), Broyhill (Va.), Buchanan, Burke (Fla.), Burton (Utah), Bush, Byrnes (Wis.), Cahill, Carter, Chamberlain, Clancy, Clausen, Don, Clawson, Del, Collier, Conable, Cowger, Curtis, Davis (Wis.), Dellenback, Devine, Dickinson, Dole, Duncan, Dwyer, Edwards (Ala.), Erlenborn, Eshleman, Ford, Gerald, Frelinghuysen, Fulton (Pa.), Gardner, Goodell, Goodling, Gross, Gubser, Gude, Gurney, Hall, Hammerschmidt, Hansen (Idaho), Harsha, Harvey, Hosmer, Hunt, Johnson (Pa.), Jonas, King (N.Y.), Kleppe, Kuykendall, Kyl, Laird, Langen, Lipscomb, Lloyd, Lukens, McClure, McCulloch, McDade, McDonald (Mich.), McEwen, MacGregor, Martin, May, Mayne, Meskill, Michel, Miller (Ohio), Mize, O'Konski, Poff, Price (Tex.), Railsback, Reid (Ill.), Reifel, Reinecke, Rhodes (Ariz.), Riegle, Robison, Roth, Roudebush, Saylor, Schadeberg, Scherle, Schneebeli, Schweiker, Schwengel, Scott, Shriver, Smith (Calif.), Smith (N.Y.), Smith (Okla.), Snyder, Stanton, Steiger (Ariz.), Steiger (Wis.), Talcott, Teague (Calif.), Thompson (Ga.), Thomson (Wis.), Vander Jagt, Wampler, Watson, Whalen, Whalley, Widnall, Wiggins, Winn, Wydler, Wylie, Zion

DEMOCRATS AGAINST: 161

Addabbo, Albert, Anderson (Tenn.), Annunzio, Ashley, Barrett, Bennett, Bevill, Bingham, Blanton, Blatnik, Boggs, Boland, Bolling, Brademas, Brasco, Brooks, Burke (Mass.), Burton (Calif.), Byrne (Pa.), Carey, Clark, Cohelan, Culver, Daddario, Daniels, Davis (Ga.), Delaney, Diggs, Donohue, Dorn, Dulski, Eckhardt, Edwards (La.), Eilberg, Evans (Colo.), Everett, Evins (Tenn.), Farbstein, Fascell, Flood, Foley, Ford, Wm. Fraser, Friedel, Fulton (Tenn.), Fuqua, Galifianakis, Gallagher, Gettys, Giaimo, Gibbons, Gilbert, Gonzalez, Gray, Green (Ore.), Green (Pa.), Griffiths, Hanley, Hanna, Hansen (Wash.), Hathaway, Hawkins, Hechler (W. Va.), Helstoski, Hicks, Holifield, Howard, Hungate, Ichord, Irwin, Jacobs, Jarman, Joelson, Johnson (Calif.), Jones (Ala.), Karsten, Karth, Kastenmeier, Kazen, Kee, Kelly, King (Calif.), Kirwan, Kornegay, Kyros, Long (Md.), McCarthy, McFall, Macdonald (Mass.), Machen, Madden, Mahon, Matsunaga, Meeds, Miller (Calif.), Minish, Mink, Monagan, Montgomery, Moorhead, Morgan, Morris (N.M.), Multer, Murphy (Ill.), Natcher, Nedzi, Nix, O'Hara (Ill.), O'Hara (Mich.), Olsen, O'Neill (Mass.), Ottinger, Patman, Patten, Pepper, Perkins, Philbin, Pickle, Pike, Poage, Price (Ill.), Pryor, Rees, Resnick, Reuss, Roberts, Rodino, Rogers (Colo.), Rogers (Fla.), Ronan, Rooney (N.Y.), Rooney (Pa.), Rosenthal, Rostenkowski, Roush, Roybal, Ryan, St Germain, St. Onge, Sisk, Slack, Smith (Iowa), Staggers, Steed, Stephens, Stratton, Stubblefield, Sullivan, Thompson (N.J.), Tiernan, Tunney, Ullman, Van Deerlin, Vanik, Vigorito, Walker, Wilson, Charles, Wright, Yates, Zablocki

REPUBLICANS AGAINST: 33

Anderson (Ill.), Andrews (N.D.), Bates, Brotzman, Cleveland, Cunningham, Denney, Esch, Grover, Halleck, Halpern, Heckler (Mass.), Keith, Kupferman, McClory, Mailliard, Moore, Morse (Mass.), Morton, Mosher, Myers, Pelly, Pettis, Pirnie, Quie, Reid (N.Y.), Rumsfeld, Sandman, Skubitz, Springer, Wilson, Bob, Wyman, Zwach

NOT VOTING: 71

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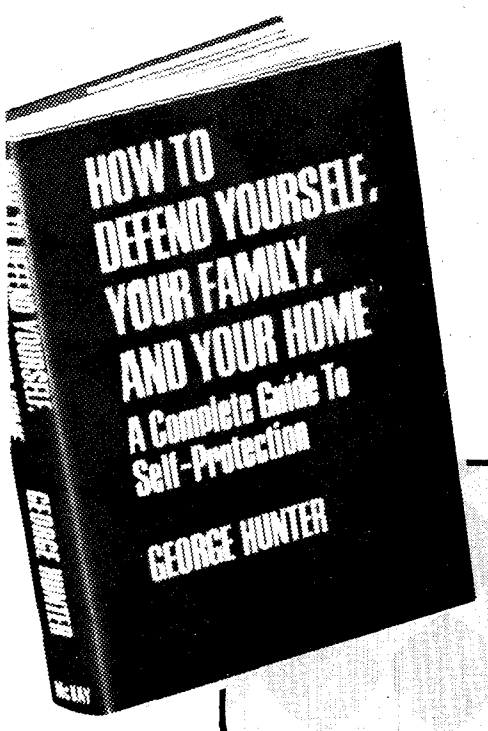

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